

**Reading fiction as performance:**  
**Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822) and woodblock print**

Barbara Jane Cross

A thesis submitted to the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in  
candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 2006



ProQuest Number: 10672981

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10672981

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

## Abstract

Japanese popular commercial fiction developed in relation to the performing arts, borrowing elements from the oral tradition and theatre. It flourished using the woodblock printing medium. Edo period woodblock-printed books retained a manuscript-like quality, although could be produced in large numbers.

Since the Meiji period, scholars have striven to put Edo fiction into “more accessible” movable-type editions, causing, I believe, modern misconceptions about pre-modern methods of reading. Recent scholarship admits we have forgotten how fiction was read in Edo Japan. We are hindered by the modern practice of swift, silent reading.

I combine a bibliographical and theoretical approach in response to these problems. Due to its ties with the theatre, I consider fiction as a type of performance, and suggest the key to understanding how fiction was enjoyed lies in close attention to the original woodblock-printed books.

The fiction writer, Shikitei Sanba was the son of a woodblock-carver, and grew up in the publishing trade. He was also a particular theatre aficionado. This thesis uses his example to demonstrate how performance was represented in popular fiction.

In Sanba’s fiction, the connection between woodblock and theatre emerges in two ways. My first chapter conducts a bibliographical study of (1) theatre-related works written by Sanba and works published by him in his capacity as a publisher. Following chapters explore how (2) the expressiveness of woodblock is used to represent elements of performance in Sanba’s fiction. The last chapter indicates how a work of fiction in its entirety reflects conventions of performance.

Sanba particularly sought to convey the whole of a (imaginary) performance on the page, in a comprehensive set of cues for oral interpretation and re-enactment by the reader. Many genres of pre-modern Japanese popular fiction are shown to hold clues, of varying degree and subtlety, for recollecting and recreating performance.

## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Drew Gerstle of SOAS for his guidance, and Professor Nakano Mitsutoshi of Fukuoka University for his instruction concerning Edo period books, and for allowing me access to his collection.

I gratefully acknowledge the aid provided by a SOAS Research Grant and a Japan Foundation Fellowship, and extra assistance on fieldtrips from the Arts and Humanities Research Board and the Japan Foundation Endowment Committee.



## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	2
<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	3
<b>List of illustrations</b> .....	6
 <b>Chapter 1 : Introduction</b>	
Edo period literature and performance .....	8
Misdemeanours in methods of reading. Reason 1: historical .....	9
Western text and performance theories .....	11
Japanese literacy debate.....	13
Printing in the Edo period.....	14
Misdemeanours in methods of reading. Reason 2: bibliographical .....	15
My methods of research .....	16
Genres of <i>gesaku</i> fiction.....	17
Shikitei Sanba, 1776-1822.....	19
Relevance of Sanba .....	20
Chapter summaries.....	21
 <b>Chapter 2 : Sanba's early theatre-related works and publishing activities</b>	
I Sanba's early career	
Biography to date .....	30
Sanba's book collection.....	31
Sanba and theatre .....	34
Circa 1800 Kabuki book boom and Sanba .....	36
The relationship of <i>gekisho</i> and <i>kyôka</i> .....	42
II Sanba and publishing	
Yorozuya Tajiemon.....	45
Sanba and Horinoya Nihei.....	53
Comparison of Sanba's works with Yorozyua and Horinoya's publications.....	54
Sanba and publication of <i>gekisho</i> and <i>kyôka</i> .....	59
An hypothesis to explain turn of events of 1st month, Bunka 3 (1806).....	62
Yorozuya Tasuke .....	64
Nishinomiya Tasuke.....	66
"Tsutajû of Yamashita-chô" / "Hachimonjiya of Edo" .....	68
III Appendix of <i>Yakusha sangai kyô</i> .....	71
<i>Yakusha sangai kyô</i> as memorial piece for Danjûrô VI .....	76
Conclusion.....	81
 <b>Chapter 3 : Representation of performance in fiction</b>	
"Sanba's path to <i>gesaku</i> " .....	83
I Memoria of <i>gekisho</i> .....	84
Memoria in other genres .....	88
Identifying performance .....	90
The preface as prologue to the performance.....	91
II Role of illustration.....	94
Pictorial genre of <i>kibyôshi</i> .....	95
Pictorial/narrative genre of <i>gôkan</i> .....	99
Sanba's lack of illustration .....	101
Kanji as illustration .....	103

### III Transcriptional-type representation:

#### Orthographic and calligraphic design in woodblock I

<u>Rakugo story-telling in comic fiction</u> : Rendering mannerisms of speech.....	105
Revelation of speed and timing in woodblock.....	107
Kanji glosses.....	109
Textual signifiers.....	110
<i>Hanashibon</i> .....	115

### Chapter 4 : Transcriptional-type representation

#### I Orthographic and calligraphic design in woodblock II

<u>Kabuki theatre in comic fiction</u> : Rendering of stage effects .....	119
<i>E-iri nehon</i> .....	120
Sanba and Kamigata theatre .....	124
Space and timing - subconscious to conscious? .....	127
Sanba's <i>sharehon</i> - origin of transcriptional-type.....	130
Scribe's role in Sanba's <i>kokkeibon</i> .....	132
The mass-produced autograph .....	135

#### II Modern perspectives

Edo in Meiji publication.....	138
Modern anthologies.....	143
Roots in Edo.....	146
Iconic v. symbolic .....	148

Conclusion to Chapters 3 and 4.....	153
-------------------------------------	-----

### Chapter 5 : Applying performance analysis techniques to fiction

#### I Genre boundaries.....

<i>Kokkeibon</i> -like <i>gôkan</i> .....	165
Plagiarism and <i>shukô</i> .....	168

#### II Fiction as theatre

Valuable notes on (play)writing.....	173
Discovering theatrical rhythms in fiction.....	176
A day's theatre programme / the run of fiction.....	182
<i>Kokkeibon</i> and <i>e-iri nehon</i> .....	185
<i>Theatre-style outside the curtain</i> on stage.....	186
Elements for re-enactment.....	194

#### III Reading illustrations

Reading practices illustrated .....	197
Sanba's "unoriginal" <i>kibyôshi</i> .....	202
Genre of <i>aohon</i> .....	208
The fall of <i>kibyôshi</i> .....	210
Turn to <i>gôkan</i> .....	214

### Chapter 6 : General Conclusion.....

#### Appendices

#### I : Chronological chart of Sanba's works with Yorozyua and Horinoya's publications.....

#### II : Survey of changes to Yorozyua's backlist catalogue, "Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku".....

#### III : Performance representation in translation .....

#### IV : Primary source references.....

#### Bibliography.....

## List of Illustrations

Figure 1.	<i>Yakusha nigao ryakugashiki</i> . c. 1814. Katei Bunko. ....	39
Figure 2A.	<i>Kyôka kei</i> Part I. 1803. Kyushu Univ. Library. Colophon.....	47
Figure 2B.	<i>Shibai kinmô zui</i> . 1803. Geidai Univ. Library. Colophon.....	47
Figure 2C.	<i>Kyôka kei</i> Part I. 1803. Kyushu Univ. Library. 46 <i>chô</i> . ....	47
Figure 2D.	<i>Kôtô ryaku zu</i> . 1804. Nakano Mitsutoshi Collection. Envelope. ....	47
Figure 3A.	<i>Kyôka kei</i> Part II. 1806. Kyushu Univ. Library. Colophon. ....	48
Figure 3B.	<i>Shibai kinmô zui</i> . 1806 impression. Kyushu Univ. Library. Colophon. ....	48
Figure 4A.	<i>Yakusha sangai kyô</i> . 1801. Cambridge Univ. Library. Colophon. ....	48
Figure 4B.	<i>Yakusha sangai kyô</i> . 1801. Cambridge Univ. Library. End of postscript. .	48
Figure 5A.	<i>Kyôka musashiburi</i> Part I. 1804. National Diet Library. Colophon. ....	49
Figure 5B.	<i>Kyôka musashiburi</i> Part I. Later impression. Tokyo Metropolitan Library. Colophon. ....	49
Figure 5C.	<i>Kyôka musashiburi</i> Part II. 1806. Tenri Univ. Library. Colophon. ....	49
Figure 5D.	<i>Kyôka musashiburi</i> Part II. 1806. Tenri Univ. Library. Advertisement. ...	49
Figure 6.	<i>Pinto jômae kokoro no aikagi</i> . 1804. Kyushu Univ. Faculty of Literature Library. 14-15 <i>chô</i> . ....	57
Figure 7.	<i>Kahô wa ne monogatari</i> . 1803. British Library. 1-2 <i>chô</i> . ....	57
Figure 8.	<i>Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki</i> . 1799. ( <i>Edo no gesaku ehon</i> ). 9-10 <i>chô</i> . ...	98
Figure 9.	<i>Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki</i> . 1799. ( <i>Edo no gesaku ehon</i> ). Last page. .	98
Figure 10.	<i>Kôshoku Ise monogatari</i> . 1686. British Library. 15 <i>chô u</i> . ....	98
Figure 11A.	<i>Ukiyoburo</i> . 1809. (Shintensha's facsimile of first edition). 9 <i>chô o</i> .....	108
Figure 11B.	<i>Ukiyoburo</i> . 1809. ( <i>Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei</i> ). ....	108
Figure 12AB.	<i>Ukiyodoko</i> . 1811. Hôsa Bunko. 20-21 <i>chô</i> ; 22 <i>chô u</i> .....	108
Figure 13AB.	<i>Kejô suigen maku no soto</i> . 1806. Diet Library. Ending of main text. ....	122
Figure 13C.	<i>Kejô suigen maku no soto</i> . 1806. Diet Library. Last page of main text. ..	122
Figure 13D.	<i>Kejô suigen maku no soto</i> . ( <i>Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei</i> ). ....	122
Figure 14.	<i>Ehon iroha moji chûshingura</i> . 1813. Hiroshima Univ. Library. Last page of main text.....	123
Figure 15A.	<i>Kejô suigen maku no soto</i> . 1806. Diet Library. 19-20 <i>chô</i> ; 45 <i>chô o</i> . ....	123
Figure 15B.	<i>Yakusha sangai kyô</i> . 1801. Cambridge Univ. Library. 23 <i>chô u</i> ; 25 <i>chô o</i> . 123	
Figure 16ABC.	<i>Kejô suigen maku no soto</i> . 1806. Diet Library. 19 <i>chô o</i> ; 38-39 <i>chô</i> . ....	123
Figure 17A.	<i>Kyôden Yoshi</i> . 1790. Katei Bunko. 36 <i>chô u</i> .....	136
Figure 17B.	<i>Tatsumi fugen</i> . 1798. Katei Bunko. 9 <i>chô u</i> . ....	136

Figure 18AB. <i>Shunsô hiji</i> . c.1810-20. Nakano Collection. <i>Kyôka</i> by Kyôden, Sanba....	136
Figure 19A. <i>Hara tsutsumi heso no shikakata</i> . 1798. Tokyo Metropolitan Library. End of preface.....	137
Figure 19B. <i>Yakusha sangai kyô</i> . 1801. Cambridge Univ. Library. End of preface. ...	137
Figure 20. <i>Tôkô Sensei sôsho (gyôsho) senjimon</i> . 1773 preface, 1806 impression. Nakano Collection. 1 <i>chô</i> .....	137
Figure 21. <i>Shôsetsu shinzui</i> . 1885. Shôgetsudô. End of preface; Table of contents..	137
Figure 22AB. <i>Kejô suigen maku no soto</i> . 1806. Diet Library. 39 <i>chô u</i> ; 45 <i>chô o</i> .....	150
Figure 22CD. <i>Namaei katagi</i> . 1806. Hôsa Bunko. 14 <i>chô u</i> ; 70 <i>chô u</i> . ....	150
Figure 23. <i>Satsuki gejun mushiboshi soga</i> . 1793. ( <i>Santô Kyôden Zenshû</i> ). 5 <i>chô u</i> ..	150
Figure 24. <i>Shômyô reisen</i> . Ôhara han: <i>meyasu hakase</i> . ( <i>Bukkyô ongaku to shômyô</i> ).	150
Figure 25. <i>Hashira dokei</i> . <i>Kikô zui</i> . 1797. ( <i>Kinmôzui no sekai</i> ). 23 <i>kan</i> , 2 <i>chô</i> . ....	150
Figure 26A. <i>Mukashi gatari kama ga fuchi</i> . 1811. Kano Bunko. 7-8 <i>chô</i> . ....	171
Figure 26B. <i>Ukiyodoko</i> . 1811. Tokyo Univ. Library. 8-9 <i>chô</i> . ....	171
Figure 27. <i>Hayakawari mune no karakuri</i> . 1810. ( <i>Shikitei Sanba shû</i> ). Advert.....	172
Figure 28ABC <i>Yakusha sangai kyô</i> . 1801. Cambridge Univ. Library. Vol.2, 12 <i>chô u</i> ; 14 <i>chô o u</i> . ....	172
Figure 29. <i>Shikitei Sanba unubore kagami</i> . 1801. Tokyo Metro. Library. 1-2 <i>chô</i> . ...	172
Figure 30. <i>Itsutsui otoko hayari Utagawa</i> . 1810. Kano Bunko. Vol.2, 4-5 <i>chô</i> . ....	199
Figure 31. <i>Ukiyo Yumesuke kontan makura</i> . 1812. National Institute of Japanese Literature. 3 <i>chô</i> . ....	199
Figure 32. <i>Shiba Zenkô yume no mudagaki</i> . 1797. Diet Library. 7-8 <i>chô</i> . ....	199
Figure 33. <i>Kannin bukuro ojime no zendama</i> . 1793. ( <i>Santô Kyôden Zenshû</i> ). 6-7 <i>chô</i> . ....	206
Figure 34. <i>Tentô ukiyo no dezukai</i> . 1794. ( <i>Shikitei Sanba shû</i> ). 8-9 <i>chô</i> . ....	206
Figure 35A. "Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku". Appended to <i>Eifuji hyakushu waka</i> , Kyushu Univ. Library. ....	235
Figure 35B. "Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku". Appended to <i>Eifuji hyakushu waka</i> , Waseda Univ. Library. ....	235
Figure 36AB. <i>Namaei katagi</i> . 1806. Hôsa Bunko. 21-22 <i>chô</i> ; End of preface. ....	239

## Chapter 1 : Introduction

### **Edo period literature and performance**

In Edo-period Japan (1600-1868), *gesaku*, literally “playful” fiction, began as an amateur pursuit by samurai and intellectuals of the early 18th century as parodies on Chinese classics. The term was coined by Chinese literati of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) who created vulgar forms of their own literature. This satirical element remained after its entry into the popular commercial world of Edo Japan. Lack of direct contact with the outside world during this period meant that writers inevitably looked inwards for stimulus, and found this in probing the satire of everyday life. By the late 18th century, Shikitei Sanba and his senior, Santô Kyôden, being among the first commoners to write in this genre, were able to become “professional” writers of *gesaku* fiction. Although work by this time often possessed no more than a superficial connection with the original *gesaku* it claimed to succeed, all fictional forms by these self-styled followers of the *gesaku* tradition are included in this thesis in the broad definition of *gesaku*, as laid down by Nakamura Yukihiro in *Gesakuron*.<sup>1</sup>

In one of the first pieces of English scholarship to handle *gesaku* fiction fully, Iwasaki describes *gesaku*:

Perhaps the single most important characteristic of this literature is its organic relationship with the activities of the community. Literature merged with the group's diverse activities, which often bore the quality of multi-genre performing arts. Central to these activities were parties on a grand scale. Since these diverse elements were carefully orchestrated by the host, the records of these gatherings constitute well-unified cross-genre anthologies, illustrated with exquisite ukiyo-e.<sup>2</sup>

Although she deals primarily with the *kyôka* (comic poetry) collections of the elite groups around Ôta Nanpo of the mid-18th century, this description can be seen to echo the nature of the majority of *gesaku* fiction. As fiction became popularised into the 19th century, these “parties” could be understood as larger performances such as Kabuki theatre.

The key to understanding *gesaku* fiction, as well as any of the other art genres, lies in the fact that all popular art forms of this period were interrelated, and were performed by members of the same avant-garde. Professional Rakugo story-telling provided fiction with puns and wordplay; the Ukiyo-e (floating world) print tradition provided illustrations, and the Jôruri puppet theatre and the Kabuki male actor theatre, plots and language. Popular poetry (*haikai*, *kyôka*) could be composed by any member of this group (fiction writers, actors, artists, and even publishers), and features alongside prose and Ukiyo-e prints.

---

1. Nakamura 1982, 26-7.

2. Iwasaki 1984, 363.

There was additionally amateur and professional actor mimicry (*chaban, kowairo*), and amateur Jôruri chanting (*gidayû*) was a popular pastime. Jôruri and Kabuki theatres regularly influenced each other, each using material from the other. A new Kabuki play was often just a twist in plot and presentation of the old themes. This is called *sekai/shukô* structure, where a contemporary counterpoint (*shukô*) is superimposed on a familiar plot from the past (*sekai*). To a large extent in all popular art forms during this period, innovation meant putting together new combinations of the old, and this extended to fiction. Shirane goes so far as to say, “In Edo culture the ability to create the new out of the old was generally a more highly regarded form of newness than the ability to be unique or individual”.<sup>3</sup>

We can imagine the thrill of live performance starring idol actors, but in what ways could enjoyment be got from the vast amount of popular fiction, on recurring themes and in various genres, which pervaded the era? It is now largely only these publications which remain as testimony to this culture. Yet we are without instruction, old or new, and far from sufficiently understanding how we should go about reading and enjoying these books.

### **Misdemeanours in methods of reading. Reason 1: historical**

Some reasons for this lie in the history of research into pre-modern popular fiction. Needless to say, scholarship was governed by the general attitude towards the concept of Edo. We see “Edo” reviewed four times during and after the process of modernization:

(1) The Meiji revolutionaries in 1868 wanted to bring about the modern age in Japan. Edo culture was deemed “non-modern-age-like”, so the way forward was considered anti-Edo. Everyone had been educated in Edo and was familiar with it, and elite reformers consciously wanted to move in a different direction.

(2) By the Taishô period, Edo was far enough in the past for a nostalgic feeling to emerge, known as Edo-*shumi* (a craze for “things” Edo).

(3) Pre-war Shôwa (1930s), the populace was well entrenched in modern life: most people were Meiji-born, and those who grew up in the Edo period were confined to the aged. It was possible to view the Edo period objectively and treat it as a field of study. From early Shôwa we see the first modern scholarship on Edo.

(4) In the post-war era, Edo was known as Zen-kindai (Pre-modern), influenced by the American view that Edo must have been some sort of preparation stage for a much greater modern age, as confidence in the presence grew. In scholarship, certain areas

---

3. Shirane 1998, 5.

(specific authors or works) were picked out for evaluation in their capacity as couriers of the Pre-modern. In order to stress the idea of a people's revolution behind Kindai, only items from Edo period townspeople's art and literature were highlighted, leading to parts of the whole culture being viewed in isolation. It is from this that the "camel with two humps" shape was drawn up to describe the rise and fall and rise again through early, mid and late Edo periods, although in reality it peaked in a Mt. Fuji shape during the mid-Edo period, according to Nakano Mitsutoshi.<sup>4</sup> This Kindai-shugi (Modern age-ism) way of thinking is still inherent in much learning today, and a distorted view of the Edo period, widespread. The most Edo-like period was, Nakano believes, in fact, the middle period.

Many misconceptions have occurred due to the almost continuous de-valuing of oral-tied, but book-form composition. Meiji and its barrage of Western-style arts and thinking saw the negation of *gesaku* as a non-literary product, and thus unworthy of scholarly consideration. Later studies (post-war) attempted to redress this negation by re-evaluating *gesaku* by "reading into it" certain literary elements, and thus proclaiming it a subject of literature for Western-style analysis. Thus, in many cases it was re-highlighted for erroneous reasons. Through these two subsequent processes the performative nature of *gesaku* has been largely forgotten, or at least ignored, and its original way of reading and enjoyment, unexplored. Although eschewed in Meiji, it was precisely because it was still remembered then as a type of oral product that it was deemed unworthy of literary attention.

Some areas of Japanese scholarship have begun to re-associate Edo literature with individual oral arts (a job begun earlier by Yamaguchi Takeshi<sup>5</sup> and Mitamura Engyo<sup>6</sup> in the pre-war era), but, as to a "reader response", we are now hindered by modern stereotypes of fast, silent reading. Maeda in 1973 reminded us that it has been forgotten that people read aloud in the Edo period.<sup>7</sup> At the end of his article, "Edo bungei ondoku no susume" (In favour of reading aloud Edo literature) in which he considers the different cries of street vendors still heard today as the remnants of lost oral traditions,<sup>8</sup> Honda calls for like-minded people, but, to my knowledge has had no takers. This has led Kornicki to admit recently in *The Book in Japan*, a major study devoted to a

---

4. Nakano Mitsutoshi, "Edo bunka saikô" (Reconsidering Edo culture), lecture held at the Faculty of Literature, Kyûshû University, April 1998.

5. "Kaisetsu". Yamaguchi 1927 Vol. 14, 35-39.

6. "Kokkeibon gaisetsu". Mitamura 1936, 2-244.

7. Maeda 1989, 334.

8. Honda 1990, 4.

comprehensive bibliographical study of the Japanese book, that in fact we do not yet properly understand how books in general were read and enjoyed in pre-modern Japan.<sup>9</sup>

### **Western text and performance theories**

Fields of inquiry in the late 20th century were dominated by the performance theory in contrast to its literary counterpart. There was strong opposition to the idea of a written text in performance theory. Until the mid 1980s the debate was based upon the premise that oral and literal were separate entities of differing natures, as exemplified by Ong's *Orality and literacy: the technologizing of the word* (1982), devoted to establishing general features of orality as opposed to literacy. In Japanese research too, long divorced from any of its oral forms, the reading of a written text has been considered entirely an act of interpretation of meaning and analysis.

Current trends in the study of anthropology appear to lend themselves to the study of Edo period fiction, although they are only just being applied in Japanese scholarship:

There is ... deepening understanding of the interaction of oral and written forms – or, rather, not of the ‘interaction’ of, as it were, two separate ‘things’ as of the whole communication process in which there may at any one time be a number of different media and processes.

Finnegan proceeds to note further that in recent research practices, there has been “a move away from the older views of text as hard-edged, spatial, fully comprised by its verbal components, existent independent of its performance”.<sup>10</sup> The contrast between the written text and the performance has been re-viewed as “a relative, many-faceted and perhaps changing continuum, rather than an absolute divide”.<sup>11</sup> And perhaps even more closely connected: “‘text’ (the detachable, de-contextualized stretch of discourse) and ‘performance’ (the act of assembling and mobilizing discursive elements) are two sides of a coin, inseparable and mutually constitutive”.<sup>12</sup> Many issues first discussed by Finnegan vis-à-vis text and performance seem to provide ideas for handling *gesaku* fiction and understanding how it was read.

20th century literary theory in fact had its own remedial theoretical perspectives: the reception theorists, such as Stanley Fish, proposed that reading is not a matter of discovering what the text means, but a process of experiencing what it *does* to you. There is no ‘objective’ work of literature: a novel is just all the assorted accounts of it that have been or will be given.<sup>13</sup> In pre-modern Japan, we shall find these reception theory

---

9. Kornicki 1998, 266.

10. Finnegan 1992, 50-51.

11. Ibid., 141.

12. Barber 2003, 331.

13. Eagleton 1983, 74.



“accounts” often taking the shape of performance. The founder of this movement, Wolfgang Iser wrote in *The act of reading* (1978) of the “strategies” which put a text to work, and of the “reportoires” of familiar themes and allusions which they contain.<sup>14</sup> This helps to explain the relationship between stories recurring in different guises and moving between Kabuki theatre and *gesaku* fiction.

Also, the word “performative”, coined by J.L.Austin in *How to do things with words* (1962), was originally used to describe an utterance that affects the action by being spoken or written, or by means of which the speaker performs a particular act. Derrida adds that the performative itself is necessarily cited or repeated, and depends on the ritualized pre-existence of a given utterance,<sup>15</sup> and therefore suits the job of describing recurring performable elements in a text as found in *gesaku* fiction.

Although unable to give a universal definition to “What is text? What is performance?”, more recent discussion has given rise to a number of different slants on the concept of “text” and “performance” in various periods and regions, but also a surprising number of cross-cultural similarities.<sup>16</sup> Accepting the notion of inter-relatedness between written text and performance, the continuing opposition to the idea of text *within* performance theory has been re-questioned. Barber argues from the viewpoint of African praise poetry, that identifying a fixed text as an object, shows the performance nature surrounding it: “it is the very consolidation of chunks of examinable, quotable, repeatable text which makes possible the dynamic processes of fluid incorporation, re-inflection and recycling”.<sup>17</sup> Text does not have to be written down for it to be constant within changing performance forms, rather like the relationship of *sekai*, a traditional theme, and *shukô*, an innovative device, in Japanese drama.

Closer to home, Gerstle describes how Kabuki theatre has generated “a huge range of texts that aim to capture or ‘translate’ the magic of performance”.<sup>18</sup> Texts can be verbal, pictorial, or, indeed, of another performative nature. Performance cannot exist on its own. Barber challenges us with “a performance that was truly ephemeral would be a performance of nothing”.<sup>19</sup> Performance always has a past and a future.

Stimulated by the recent discourse, here I have tried considering Japanese popular fiction as a “metamorphosed” performance.

---

14. Ibid., 67.

15. Derrida 1977, 192.

16. The AHRB “Literature and Performance” workshop series held at SOAS 2001-2003, and its subsequent publications in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 66:3 (2003).

17. Barber 2003, 327.

18. Gerstle 2003, 364.

19. Barber 2003, 332.

## Japanese literacy debate

In questioning the value of studies into literacy during the Edo period, Kornicki remarks that we “need to shift emphasis to the antecedents, modes, functions, and consequences of acquiring the ability to read and write”, as well as the fact that “to be literate is not necessarily to understand”.<sup>20</sup> A number of diaries cited by Maeda Ai indicate that the practice of reading aloud within a group as a shared experience was still maintained even in the late Meiji period. Reading aloud to groups helped overcome low rates of literacy.<sup>21</sup> My contention is that these “listeners” were not necessarily passive, so were also “readers” or “enjoyers” of the literature.

There is a considerable amount of detailed research on literacy in pre-modern Japan. However, in keeping with the notion here of fiction as a type of performance, if you redefine a “reader” as a “participator”, the figures for who is literate and who is not will come out very differently. Readers were required to search wide in their memory bank and use their creative skills. However, this process did not require particular literacy (the knowledge they held could be the result of aural or visual experience). Thus, in order to enjoy these books or to take part in the performance emanating from them, and thereafter to have a knowledge of the book, it was not necessary to be said to be able to “read”.

Carruthers has shown the importance, rather, of *memoria* in the pre-modern context as a measure of scholarliness and intellect, by discussing “the institution of *memoria* itself, which is in many ways the same as the institution of literature”.<sup>22</sup> I apply these ideas to Edo artistic society, where we see the social/cultural institution of Kabuki transformed into the mountains of fictional works that appeared throughout the era.

Gerstle has recently suggested yet another definition of “performance” – using it merely “in opposition to the reading of a text silently”.<sup>23</sup> I use the term “performance” here throughout to refer to a multitude of oral conventions and situations, as they are all inter-connected. Problems arise when relating to Japanese scholarship and discussing with Japanese scholars, as the general concept of “performance” as exemplified in the English word does not exist in Japanese, and does not feature prominently in Japanese literary research.

We are yet to shake off the modern concept of reading aloud as a less-than-perfect stage along the road to becoming a fluent silent reader, and as an embarrassing step thereto. On the contrary, Meiji diaries reveal reading in a small voice - as opposed to a

---

20. Kornicki 2001, 388-9

21. Maeda 1989, 122-5.

22. Carruthers 1990, 15.

23. Gerstle 2003, 358.

vibrant one - an ineptitude.<sup>24</sup> Edo literature, Hayashi has recently remarked, merely lacked sufficient volume to make fast, silent reading a plausible notion.<sup>25</sup> Although Hayashi refers to the reading of *kanbun* (Chinese) texts, this idea might apply to similarly short pieces of *gesaku* fiction. We read fast due to the sheer volume we must get through to make it a satisfying activity. As a result, we forget most we have read, thus, we engage in what would not perhaps, by Edo standards, be a proper reading. We also read fast now because, as Hayashi fears in reference to the practice of Waka poetry which in fact originated in reading/singing verse as slowly as possible, the quality of each string of words or phrase in modern work no longer warrants any particular reflective, relished reading. He reinforces the plea that we need to reconsider reading.<sup>26</sup>

### **Printing in the Edo Period**

Printing is used universally to express strongly people's thoughts, and in this respect it is more permanent than manuscript. A handwritten manuscript can sometimes imply a "working" text. Edo period woodblock, we find, deftly combined both of these: the conviction of print and the transience of manuscript.

It was through the medium of woodblock printing that commercial publishing flourished during the Edo period. Each page of a volume was carved in reverse and in relief onto a separate block. Although movable type technology was known during this period, the woodblock medium was chosen in preference for mass commercial publishing.

The woodblock was so suited to reproducing the cursive hand that in some cases it is hard to differentiate between manuscript or print at a glance. In prefaces and postscripts, we often find the author's own brush-hand replicated in woodblock. Because of the nature of the woodblock, there were also endless possibilities for combining illustration and written text.

On more practical matters, there was something tangible (the woodblock itself) that implied ownership, usually by the publisher (there was no writer's copyright). One block could withstand some thousand print-offs, with the advantage that blocks could be stored and brought out for further printing as required. Information could be changed and kept up to date by simply inserting a new piece of wood into the block and re-carving. The printing order of several copies of the "same" book can even be reckoned by comparison of the wear upon the printing block as shown in the imprint. As succinctly put by

---

24. Maeda 1989, 125.

25. Hayashi 2004, 25.

26. Ibid., 33-36.

Kornicki, the value of woodblock printed books lies in the fact that all copies are different.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, commercially printed in relatively large numbers, yet retaining a manuscript-like quality, these books themselves hold numerous clues to their function and history, many of which have been lost in modern typed editions.

### **Misdemeanours in methods of reading. Reason 2: bibliographical**

This leads to my bibliographical perspective. There is, I believe, another simple reason why we have forgotten how to read pre-modern period books. Readers (scholars and students) now too easily consult the uniform modern movable-type versions rather than the original woodblock-cut printed books. Before we begin to read any book, several messages are conveyed to us by the appearance and form that lies in front of us. These will inevitably determine how we approach reading the book. In this case, the introduction of compact movable type had allowed longer works; longer works required faster reading. Modern reading habits were then applied to Edo period fiction when it was put into type.

By around Meiji 15 (1882) it had become universally more worthwhile (under Fukuzawa Yukichi economics) to print using movable type.<sup>28</sup> The Meiji period saw the standardisation of the Japanese writing system and a striving for perfection in the new uniform movable type. There was also an increasing desire to create a Western style-bound canon of national literature. The dream was realised in *Teikoku bunko* (Imperial library) series, which conflated all the genres of *gesaku* to fit the strait-jacket format of the Western-style typed novel. Since then, scholars have constantly sought to put Edo period fiction into “more accessible” typed editions. This would, it might be thought, prevent the gradual loss of knowledge of Edo culture. However, I believe this act in itself is also partly responsible for the modern misconception of pre-modern methods of reading. Similar problems have occurred to those found in theatre studies by Gerstle, as “modern movable type editions have never contained all of the musical notation because editions have not considered it essential for modern readers”.<sup>29</sup>

Maeda takes a rather modernist stance and misses the point in saying that type is easy to read while “wormlike” woodblock calligraphy is not.<sup>30</sup> Rather, the Edo reader would probably consider the typed page expressionless, and, as a result, difficult to read. Nakano has brought our attention back to, and improved our knowledge of, the

---

27. Kornicki 1998, 54.

28. Maeda 1989, 337.

29. Gerstle 1986, 16.

30. Maeda 1989, 334.

woodblock printed book in his bibliographical guide, *Edo no hanpon* (1995). It is clear from this study that books in Edo were not just judged by their covers, but also by their size, shape and the calligraphy style used. Copies of what nominally might be the same work can often prove to be very different.

A combination of historical and bibliographical blunders have thus created the situation of not knowing how to read Edo texts. Edo fiction appears short and inconsequential in movable type, and can be “glanced” through using modern reading methods without appreciation. Nakano stresses the importance of viewing Edo from within Edo.<sup>31</sup> As woodblock books are practically all we have now which embody Edo, so it is through these we must look.

### **My methods of research**

As to ascertaining how fiction was read, the key lies in the very nature of the woodblock-printed books themselves. It was the particular Edo woodblock print technology which created this distinctive literary culture, and the two are inherently linked. Thus I combine a bibliographical study with performance theory. The understanding of fiction as a metamorphosed performance includes the physical object of the book. I aim to show that works of fiction tell of performance, in the way that performance is manifested in the woodblock printed pages. Woodblock kept the performance “alive”, though such clues have often been lost or misinterpreted in modern times.

Although acknowledging that fiction is closely tied with the oral arts, it is no longer enough to identify influences from certain play plots and call the job done. Many studies to date have concentrated wholly on investigating sources for allusions, but few move onto the next step towards understanding the enjoyment factor of popular fiction, the “real meaning” of the text. In other words they have looked backwards for explanatory and legitimizing forces, but do not then look forwards again to their effects and consequences. I am taking an altogether different approach: Edo fiction, I argue, is both representing performance and re-creating a variant of it. Admittedly, reliance on modern examples of Kabuki, Jôruri, Rakugo or *haikai/waka* practice is problematic. Therefore scholarly source analysis is necessary, but goes only half the way to discovering how fiction was read. I consider how Edo people - with familiarity with the oral arts a prerequisite - were inspired to write and enjoyed reading fiction, by looking closer at Edo period books.

---

31. Nakano, lecture, April 1998.

This thesis thus combines bibliography and performance theory to explain the function of popular commercial fiction in the Edo period. Although *shoshi gaku* (bibliographical study) has been considered important for research into Japanese pre-modern literature for several decades, and analysis of performative features in fiction recently resurrected, these two methodologies have not been used, it would seem, in tandem.

### **Genres of *gesaku* fiction**

At the turn of the 18th-19th centuries there were chiefly four genres of *gesaku* fiction: *Kibyôshi* evolved during the mid 18th century from simple picture books with short lines of speech and author's comments scattered around the illustrated characters, known collectively as *kusazôshi*. It was during the previous century that speech began to be written in the vernacular, and the 18th century saw the introduction of speech marks for quoted speech. There was no defined order in which to read the quoted speech and comments. *Kibyôshi* became increasingly satirical, until falling foul of the Kansei Reforms (1790s).

A further development in *kusazôshi* towards *gôkan* at the beginning of the 19th century is fundamentally characterized by the toppling of illustration by the quantity of written text. Author's comments gradually became longer and narrative-like. The change to the *gôkan* format (initially three *kibyôshi* bound into one) came about through the separation of a main narrative text from the speech/comment within an illustration. Comments accompanying illustrations then took on the secondary role of adding humour or remarks not directly related to the narrative text. The narrative text sometimes replaced the speech/ comment illustrations completely, or more often constituted the larger part of the page. Vendetta stories were the most common.

*Sharehon* have been likened to vernacular speech divorced from its illustrations in *kibyôshi*. They used words to illustrate scenes in such detail that visual illustration was unnecessary. They took a form similar to a Kabuki play-script, with the bulk of the text consisting of dialogue interspersed with stage direction-like descriptions. Through amusing tales of how to act and how not to act in the pleasure quarters, they educated the connoisseur in taste and entertained the masses alike. Censorship saw their demise in 1802.

*Chûbongata kokkeibon*, comic works, the genre for which Shikitei Sanba is most known, adopted a similar format to the *sharehon* (though larger sized), with quotation marks to show a change of speaker and descriptive passages written in double lines.

However they dealt with various subject matters except the pleasure quarters. The aim was to depict amusing situations in everyday life predominantly through dialogue.

*Gesaku* has proved difficult, for Japanese and Western scholars alike, because of the mock humble manner in which it is written. This is a remnant from when it was written as an amusing pastime by and for members of social and intellectual elites, itself a throwback to the whimsical pursuits of Chinese Ming Dynasty scholars. Co-existing self-confidence and self-depreciation present in prefaces, asides and illustrations – found in all of the above genres - complicate the task of deciphering in what vein a work is written, and for what purpose it was written and subsequently read.

The semi-serious genre, *yomihon* is not usually considered *gesaku* fiction. Ironically, influence of the Chinese *hakuwa zoku shôsetsu* (vulgar novel) helped raise in status the genre of *kôki* (late-period)-*yomihon*, despite the former's "true" *gesaku* roots.

A poetic form popular from mid-Edo, *kyôka* mimicked the *gesaku* tradition of parodying "ga" (elegant) in being a "zoku" (vulgar) form of *waka*. Composition rules were not so strict, but not all were of a comic nature. Although *kyôka* anthologies were produced, *kyôka* often appeared in tandem with other genres.

Finally, to *gekisho*. As with *kyôka*, although not true *gesaku* fiction as such, this umbrella term for theatre-related works includes material stemming from the same groups and sources as *gesaku*, and is thus closely linked. Kabuki-related literature was produced in great quantity. *Engekisho* (or *shibaimono*, preferred by some as a more Edo period term) describes any work relating directly to the theatre, and can be divided into two main types. *Jôen shuppanbutsu* (stage publications) denotes topical material relating to specific performances, such as *banzuke* (actor rankings), *shôhon* (scripts) and *sujigaki* (script summaries). They were usually produced by members of a theatre or by writers and publishers affiliated to it. The term *gekisho*, on the other hand, is commonly used to refer to *maku uchi shôkaisho* (general theatre guides) and also *yakusha ehon* (actor print books), which were commercially printed for mass readership.<sup>32</sup> These are closely related to, and stem from, *yakusha hyôbanki* (actor evaluations), *ichidaiki mono* or *tsuizen* (actor biographies or memorials) and often contain elements of both in them. I translate the term *gekisho* freely as "theatre-related works" and "Kabuki books", but do not include in my definition works which have the theatre as theme but which fit into another genre (e.g. *chûbongata kokkeibon*). *Gekisho* as described here belongs to the same *gesaku* group's activities.

---

32. Akama 2003, 129-130.

The field was dominated in the mid 1700s in Osaka by the (nominal) writer and publishing giant, Hachimonjiya Jishô. The turn of the 18th-19th century then saw a wave of *gekisho* in innovative formats out of Edo and Kamigata. Many of them were written by popular *gesaku* writers and were necessarily illustrated by eminent Ukiyo-e artists, catering for the contemporary demand for likenesses of popular actors and tales relating to them and behind the scenes. Some of these have been examined from a Kamigata perspective in *Kabuki heroes on the Osaka stage*.<sup>33</sup>

Almost all genres, not just popular fiction, were available to the public through the woodblock-printing medium. This included Jôruri chanting texts from the puppet theatre, which were written (and printed) in distinctive large, round lettering, and which were used by professional and amateur chanters alike. As for Kabuki theatre, although there were various types of abbreviated, illustrated reading matter timely produced for the theatre-going public, Kabuki play-scripts were not widely available on the market in their entirety. In Edo, full “official” texts of Kabuki plays remained under the jurisdiction of the actor/theatre, and in manuscript form.

There did emerge the genre of *e-iri nehon*, illustrated play-texts appearing in Kamigata from the late 18th century. This little studied genre has recently been shown more extensive than previously supposed,<sup>34</sup> but was confined to Kamigata plays, artists and publishers. This newly identified differing tradition acts as a measure for comparison between east and west, which proves crucial to the very existence of *gesaku* in Edo at this time. This is where Shikitei Sanba fits in.

### **Shikitei Sanba 1776-1822**

Shikitei Sanba, whose works are the main focus of this study, is best known for his contribution to the late Edo genre of *chûbongata kokkeibon* produced after Bunka 3 (1806) such as *Ukiyoburo* (Bathhouse of the floating world), and *Ukiyodoko* (Barbershop of the floating world). These have been previously discussed in some depth in Western languages by Margarete Donath-Wiegand in *Zur literarhistorischen Stellung des Ukiyoburos von Shikitei Samba* (1963) and by Robert Leutner in *Shikitei Sanba and the comic tradition in Edo fiction* (1985), both of which focus on the emergence of the *kokkeibon* genre leading finally to partial translations of *Ukiyoburo*, and also in the two monographs in Japanese devoted to Sanba: Honda Yasuo's *Shikitei Sanba no bungei* (1973) and, more recently, Tanahashi Masahiro's *Shikitei Sanba* (1994). Jinbo Kazuya also provided comprehensive commentary for *Ukiyoburo* in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*

---

33. Gerstle 2005.

34. Ibid., 172-3.



(1957), and again in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei* (1989). *Ukiyoburo* and *Ukiyodoko* are also the focus of much linguistic research into the language of the Edo period. Sato Yukiko (1998; 2001) has broken the mould and more recently given a comprehensive handling of Sanba's *gôkan*.

However, in this study I initially concentrate on Sanba's early career before the emergence of *kokkeibon* and *gôkan*. The volume of *gesaku* fiction (chiefly *kibyôshi* and *sharehon*) written by Sanba before 1806 was fractional compared with his writing after this date. The consideration of other factors of this period, such as his experiences in book publishing, is crucial in understanding the development of his later success in *gesaku* writing.

Sanba gained entry into the artistic scene through his training under the storyteller, playwright and fiction writer, Utei Enba. We know this because his pen-name from the outset shares two of his mentor's Chinese characters. Yet various sources tell us that Sanba himself was a bad orator, and the discipleship, although not the friendship, seems to have ended early. However, Sanba's fiction tells of his constant fascination with the spoken word and other aural elements.

### Relevance of Sanba

The *gesaku* fiction writer, Shikitei Sanba was the son of a woodblock-carver. From an early age he was apprenticed to one book publisher, and later through marriage ties, took over the headship of another. Particularly for Sanba, then, *gesaku* authorship and the physical medium of woodblock-printing were closely associated. Here I am interested in exploring how he used the characteristics of the woodblock print medium in his fiction.

Sanba's attempts at rendering the spoken word are well-documented. But his achievements are more than this. Careful study of the woodblock texts show further elements of performance represented in print. Leutner remarks on the sheer volume of Sanba's work, "most of which has yet to be reprinted in easily accessible modern editions, let alone studied".<sup>35</sup> I aim to reverse this method of "study", and hope to show by this thesis that the key to understanding fiction fully, lies in initial attention to these original woodblock editions. "Reading" of the clues posed by woodblock books will be put into practice here to find out more about Sanba's writing and publishing activities of his early career, as well as to discover how the books themselves were "read".

---

35. Leutner 1985, 14.

A further theme to complete the triangle is that of the theatre. Interestingly, neither of these two fields, theatre commentary or publishing activities, have been the focus of Sanba research so far, and this thesis aims to bridge the gaps in both aspects whilst handling the broader theme of the relationship between theatre and fiction. Although Tanahashi (1994) has touched on Sanba's relationship with publishing houses, I take this further by presenting new evidence suggesting its extent and significance.

This project as a whole confines itself to one popular writer, Shikitei Sanba because of the sheer volume of titles (he wrote nearly 100 works of fiction in several genres), and breadth of material (not confined to fiction) that has necessarily been brought in to demonstrate my arguments. I also make use of several one-sheet publications and letters on the subject of theatre which have not been taken into account in research on Sanba to date. I have chosen the example of Shikitei Sanba because of the significance that continues throughout this thesis of his additional personal association with the theatrical world and involvement in woodblock printed book design and publication, both hitherto unexplored areas of his early biography.

### **Chapter summaries**

Ties between woodblock and theatre emerge in two ways: (a) woodblock publishing and the theatre world, and (b) woodblock expression and performance. These two ideas form the bases for Chapters 2, and Chapters 3-4 respectively. Chapter 2 examines the concrete nature (a) of this connection through a bibliographical study of theatre-related works written by Sanba and works published by Sanba in his capacity as a publisher. Often these prove to be one and the same. Chapters 3 and 4 treat the abstract nature (b) of the link and explore how the expressiveness of woodblock is used to represent elements of performance in Sanba's work, considering largely Rakugo in Chapter 3 and Kabuki in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 then extends this further to see how a work of fiction in its entirety reflects conventions of performance, and considers fiction as a type, or extension of performance.

Chapter 2 is, then, mainly factual and historical, based on what the physical books can tell us, and focusses on the content of Sanba's *gekisho*. Chapter 3 and 4 are more analytical and theoretical, building a stylistic study upon the facts determined in Chapter 2. Chapter 5 takes a broader approach to the same issues treated in Chapters 3 and 4.

In Chapter 2, "**Sanba's early theatre-related works and publishing activities**", **Part I**, I trace the development of Sanba's early theatre-related works, *gekisho*, with a view to locating Sanba within the theatre world at this time. Although late Kansei (1790s)

is generally considered the age of the *kibyôshi/sharehon*, what also stand out during this era (though hitherto largely overlooked) are Sanba's several *gekisho* (following chapters will show how these shaped his later writing). Sanba's particular link with the theatre comes out in the work of his later life, but in Chapter 2 I shall ask in what form did it first manifest itself.

In **Part II of Chapter 2**, I also indicate how Sanba's association with the publishing industry and the theatre come together and are inherently linked. Numerous details regarding Sanba's hazy early biography can be deduced purely from the woodblock books that he and his associates produced. Here I shall be able to add to, and reinterpret, parts of the most recent biography of Sanba by Tanahashi (*Shikitei Sanba*, 1994).

One of my research methods for finding out more about his theatre-related career is to produce publication lists for the two publishing houses with which he was associated. The nearest so far to publishing lists for these publishers has been the publisher-grouping index to *Wariin chô* (Publishing guild records), yet this is by no means comprehensive. Suzuki and Forrer have paved the way in creating exhaustive publication lists from various available sources in their studies of the mammoth publishing houses of Tsutaya Jûsaborô and Eirakuya Tôshirô respectively.<sup>36</sup> Through my research I have assembled similar lists for two comparably well-established and important publishers with whom we know Sanba to have had associations. I have then viewed these alongside a list of Sanba's works for the same period, with some enlightening results. The publication history of one block and the changes made to it in this case turns out to provide a history of Sanba's publishing career. My procedure of using these methods to discover more about the writer, Shikitei Sanba, forms a new approach:

Of significance here will be Sanba's publishing activities during his early career, and the position he held socially as both a publisher and a writer of *kyôka* (comic poetry) and theatre-related works. Sanba provided texts for three *gekisho* of this period. In these, Sanba pioneered a new format for actor print books, where actor prints accompanied by *kyôka* and a text are incorporated into one volume. My study also shows that the two later *gekisho* were actually of Sanba's own physical production as head of a publishing house, and that he was most probably simultaneously supervising the running of another publishing house which produced a further two *gekisho*. These were in fact more than likely written by Sanba himself under a pseudonym.

---

36. Suzuki, *Tsutaya Jûsaborô*, 1998; Forrer, *Eirakuya Tôshirô, publisher at Nagoya: a contribution to the history of publishing in 19th century Japan*, 1985.

Sanba was, then, instrumental in the c.1798-1803 theatre-book boom, having had some sort of input (that is, as writer and/or publisher) into the majority of the theatre-related works published in Edo during this period. This groundwork is helpful here because Sanba's relationship with the book production business will also have bearing in Chapters 3 and 4.

In **Part III of Chapter 2**, I go on to focus on one particular theatre-book, *Yakusha Sangaikyô* of 1801. This is a little-known text of Sanba's which appears to have been overlooked; outweighed, perhaps, by the interest in Utagawa Toyokuni's actor landscape prints which constitute the first half of each of the two volumes, and unrecognised in that most catalogues classify the work as simply "yakusha-ehon" (actor print book). Although Sanba's text <sup>claims</sup> ~~maintains~~ to be a *furoku* (appendix), it does in fact constitute a significant written text. Presumably this was a mark of humiliation on Sanba's part so as not to detract from the prints. In other words, the "main text" is the actor print. To date there is no published typed version, although the actor prints have been reproduced on several occasions in art books. However, I transcribed Sanba's written text from the cursive script, and found it to be of great significance in locating Sanba within the world of theatre patronage.

Sanba's text can only be described overall as a memorial piece (*tsuizenmono*) for Ichikawa Danjûrô VI, a member of the most famous Edo acting family who died suddenly at 22. The authorship date marks this as an unofficial memorial a year after the death of Danjûrô VI, a duty not borne by more obvious members of the theatre circle. The general conclusion from this is that Sanba was personally deeply involved with the theatrical world, as well as being actively involved in woodblock printed book design and publication.

Having identified his intimate knowledge of these two areas, in **Chapter 3**, "**Representation of performance in fiction**", I consider the different ways in which we see performance represented on the pages of his fiction. Here I show how performance is manifested in individual examples from fiction, and identify the potential for a "performance-like" reading experience of these.

Alongside Jôruri, Kabuki popular theatre provided much material for fiction, although full Kabuki play-scripts themselves were not published in Edo, at least not in unabridged form. *Gesaku* fiction must then compensate in some way for Kabuki's lack of a written text, to provide a performance that you could take home and recreate at your leisure. Also, perhaps the manuscript-like feel of these woodblock printed booklets that was *gesaku* fiction added to the idea of their being texts to manipulate. Not only did

Kabuki generate “a huge range of texts that aim to capture or ‘translate’ the magic of performance”, Gerstle goes on to say that attempts were constantly being made to represent, re-create or translate performance into another genre.<sup>37</sup> Shirane suggests that Kabuki was one of the many Tokugawa popular forms influenced by the *haikai* process of change and recontextualization.<sup>38</sup>

We can see this happening in extension in Kabuki-related genres such as *gekisho* and *gesaku* fiction. This constant movement and re-modelling meant they “contained” numerous texts, invisible on the surface, and to the unacquainted. As Carruthers has argued, “A book is not necessarily the same thing as a text”.<sup>39</sup> We can make several comparisons between Edo period and English medieval culture of memoria, an “institution” of knowledge as described in Carruther’s *The book of memory* (1990), and these will be expanded in this chapter.

I initially use *Yakusha sangai kyô* to locate Sanba within the backstage theatre world, but find it of significance throughout this thesis for understanding the theme of performance re-enacted. We discover the prototype forms of Sanba’s particular methods of representing performance, which are developed in later works. **Part I of Chapter 3**, therefore, continues to look at *Yakusha sangai kyô*, analysing it structurally, explaining its seemingly erratic punctuation, and identifying its (partial) nature as an aide-memoire to past Kabuki performance and culture.

The type of *gekisho* commemorating actors’ careers and typified by Hachimonjiya in the late 18th century, were a result of an amalgamation over time of *yakusha hyôbanki* (actor critiques). Although somewhat different from its contemporary *gekisho*, which, by the early 19th century were largely instructive and encyclopaedic, *Yakusha sangai kyô* in fact retained the original nature of *gekisho*, especially in its first section. *Yakusha Sangaikyô* acts as both a memorial (to Danjûrô VI) and a memoria (to old Kabuki tradition). Examples of “representative” nostalgic elements, built up over time from multiple referencing, and their sources, will be identified in the unpunctuated first section of *Sangai kyô*.

We see parallels with early written texts of Ancient Greece as described by Thomas (1992). Similarities such as lack of punctuation and incomplete allusions may hold clues as to how they may have been read. Lack of punctuation necessitates active improvisation, participation, and background knowledge of a mnemonic nature.

---

37. Gerstle 2003, 364.

38. Shirane 1998, 151.

39. Carruthers 1990, 8.

This trend will then be traced in genres of *gesaku* fiction. I shall show that readers of *gesaku* fiction were given ample opportunity to imagine or recall a text, and that this non-surface-present text can also be considered the “represented” text.

**Part II of Chapter 3** looks at the use of illustration within fiction to represent performance. This is mostly seen in the pictorial genres of *kibyôshi* and *gôkan*. A total interaction between the visual and verbal text in Kyôden’s *kibyôshi* as indicated by Togasaki<sup>40</sup> cannot be found, however, in those by Sanba. Written contemporaneously with these, Sanba’s *gekisho* contain no illustrations relating to the written text, because Sanba’s texts are appendices in actor print books. Thus Sanba learnt to necessarily confine detail to words. This trend is extended later in his *kokkeibon* and *gôkan*, and forms the next issue raised in the chapter.

Although the woodblock medium lends itself to script/illustration combinations, pictorial texts do not feature in much of Sanba’s work. Sanba’s preoccupation was with language. **Part III of Chapter 3** examines in particular how Sanba developed ways of rendering elements of performance in detail on the page. From Bunka 3 (1806), Sanba began to write in quantity, and this year also saw his first *gôkan* and *chûbongata kokkeibon*; the latter, the genre for which he is best known.

Regarding the transcription of oral genres worldwide, Ruth Finnegan has provided groundwork in the analysing and recording of every element of performance.

Meaning and artistry emerge in performance: this means attention not just to words but also to how they are delivered: such elements as intonation, speed, rhythm, tone, dramatisation, rhetorical devices, and performance techniques generally.<sup>41</sup>

These are the exact issues that Sanba has dealt with in his fiction. We will find that the expressiveness of written text rendered in woodblock almost takes over from the role of pictorial illustration.

One starting point to thinking about the relationship between the written representation and the performance is the dense and rounded script of a Jôruri *maruhon*, which is somehow seen (though not defined) as synonymous with the tortuous twisting and rounding of the *gidayû* chanter’s mouth and the round vowels emitted.

Firstly I consider how storytelling is represented in Sanba’s work, concentrating on how oral elements are transposed on the page. The connection of Rakugo with the *kokkeibon* of 1809, *Ukiyoburo* (Bathhouse of the floating world) is well documented. Leutner has previously discussed Sanba’s *kokkeibon*, and stated that, “His principal aim ...was in recreating the unique atmosphere of a particular subculture through verbal self-

---

40. Togasaki 1995, 93.

41. Finnegan 1992, 93.

portraits of its members”,<sup>42</sup> and demonstrates that this is done by special orthography to faithfully render dialect and manners of speech, and in so doing, evoke amusement. I will, however, by referring back to the original woodblock printed books, show that these themselves hold further clues as to the reading (and function) of *gesaku* fiction for the reader.

Another great influence on Sanba’s fiction was the Kabuki theatre. **Chapter 4, “Transcriptional-type representation”, Part I** centres on another *kokkeibon*, *Kejô suigen maku no soto* (Theatre-style outside the curtain; 1806), and the rendering of the sounds of theatre stage effects, including loudness, speed and timing. I also indicate that many of Sanba’s visual devices were not found in more directly theatre-related literature such as *eiri nehon* (illustrated play-scripts) etc., suggesting his renditions are attempts at a more accurate record of actual performance techniques, within the constraints of a fiction genre.

Nakamura Yukihiro has remarked that compared with *gesaku*, *nehon* lack “colour” (*seisai*).<sup>43</sup> I demonstrate exactly what this “colour” might be. In discussing the basic issues in transcribing in her chapter, “Transcription and representation”, Finnegan questions the “Powerful model of a single-line text”, and states that, “ ‘interruptions’ and ‘digressions’ – as they seem to transcribers preoccupied with the ‘basic’ text – may be crucial for the performance”.<sup>44</sup> Sanba often becomes engrossed in “interruptions” and “digressions” to the exclusion, or at least simplification, of a “basic” text. *Nehon* (play-scripts) and their ilk often remain as “basic” texts. I conclude that Sanba sought to convey the whole of a (imaginary) performance on the printed page, presumably as a vehicle for reproduction by the reader.

The woodblock was chosen in preference over movable type for commercial printing during the Edo period not just because of its convenience in storage and alteration. It was much more suitable than movable type technology for orthographic and calligraphic design. Text retained a manuscript-like feel, though it could be produced in large quantities. As seen in **Part II of Chapter 4**, many of the better-known works of this period have been put into typed editions, and are now largely known, sometimes exclusively, in that format. Although the illustrations have been reproduced in most (but not all) cases, the woodblock printed verbal texts have not. I investigate how Sanba’s inventions in script were emulated or dropped by later writers, and find that the loss of

---

42. Leutner 1985, 91.

43. Nakamura 1982, 212.

44. Finnegan 1992, 195.

woodblock innovation did not come about with Meiji but stemmed from late Edo commercial changes.

Through his connection with the book publishing trade, Sanba was made aware of the medium's possibilities and developed ways of rendering elements of performance (speech, sounds, rhythms, etc.) in intricate detail on the page to a highly "iconic" level. I consider Western theories on semiotics alongside my discoveries relating to the nature of the Edo period woodblock print medium: the 19th century philosopher, Peirce, divided representations of things, including words, into iconic and symbolic (a close likeness versus a less directly related sign). This has provided ways to define the relationship (and discrepancies) between woodblock print and typed versions respectively.

I conclude so far that the potential for re-enactment of performance in fiction thus can be seen to occur through two different methods in verbal form: that of memory-jogging (*memoria*) and of exhaustive transcriptional representation. I have called these *memoria* type and transcriptional type, and prove not unlike Eco's "open" and "closed" texts described in *Role of the reader* (1979). Both types of text in Edo fiction are representations of the spoken word, but the first conceals hidden texts to be recollected as part of the reading process, whereas the second provides all the necessary text on the page in intricate detail. The former is characteristic of the *gekisho* trend of the turn of the 18th-19th centuries, the latter of the true *gesaku* fiction of *kokkeibon* which followed in the Bunka era. However both methods are also present to varying degrees in the *gesaku* genres of *kibyôshi* and *gôkan*. The next chapter considers how these potentials affected the way fiction was read, along with a more overall view of fiction as a variation on performance.

**Chapter 5, "Applying performance analysis techniques to fiction"** looks at the wider performative nature of fiction, considering in broader terms the consequences of the individual examples identified in Chapters 3 and 4. This chapter is concerned with a comparison of theatre and fiction through the application of rules as an end to discovering how to read fiction.

Such rules can take different shapes. They can be taken straight from a theatrical treatise, ascertained from a resultant composition, or found implied indirectly in illustrated material. Contrasts in traditional genres, largely where illustration does or does not play a significant role, have already emerged as factors determining reading methods. I begin in **Part I of Chapter 5** by clarifying several problematic genre categories by focussing on Edo sources. From an investigation of genre definitions begin to emerge suggestions of differing methods of reading between *kokkeibon* and *kibyôshi/gôkan*.



Where written rules do exist governing theatrical structure, **Part II of Chapter 5** applies these techniques to fiction which are normally used in the analysis/creation of oral performance. For this my tools will include the Jôruri-based rules of composition such as the *jo-ha-kyû* pacing principle and cadencing as described by Gerstle (1986; 1990), and also the teachings of the contemporary treatise on Kabuki playwriting, *Kezairoku* (Valuable notes on playwriting) of 1801. Iezzi (2000) has provided a study on the rules of Kabuki speech, and I look for corresponding conventions in fiction.

One work of fiction I analyse as a whole following theatrical criteria is *Kejô suigen maku no soto*. Sanba wrote this dialogue-based work as if the auditorium were the stage. The specific representations of performance picked out in the previous chapter are returned to within their context to show that the structure of this *kokkeibon* very much follows that of a Kabuki play programme in various ways.

The key to the development of performance clues lies in *Yakusha sangai kyô* – the starting place for this thesis. We see a distinct change of mood from its unpunctuated “memoria”-type first section to a narrative/dialogue-style second section which makes use of breathmarks etc. to relay its Kabuki-like speeches. Finally, then, I show this work’s implications in my wider theme of “performance re-enacted”.

In **Part III of Chapter 5**, rules for reading practices are sought through a survey of contemporary illustrations of “readers reading”. These help to propose ideas for reading methods, understand differences in book-reading situations, and to distinguish further between genres.

Japanese scholarship has recently acknowledged performative elements in fiction, but a “reader response” remains unexplored. In his dissertation on Kyôden’s *kibyôshi*, Kern (1997) tantalizingly offers a chapter titled ‘How to “read” pictorial comic fiction’, yet does not address the problem at its most basic level, that is, methods of reading. I offer a more practical approach. Clues as to the rules of reading lie in the books themselves, and from these I suggest differing practices for *kokkeibon* and *kibyôshi/gôkan*. Through an example of Sanba’s *kibyôshi*, I show performing aloud to be the method of reading known to the general reader. Honda (1973) has laboriously identified the theatrical sources for many of Sanba’s *gôkan*, but does not delve into how they were used and to what effect. I demonstrate that considerations of performability were foremost in Sanba’s choice and use of material.

By the **General conclusion**, through my focus on original woodblock printed editions, I have developed a new approach to reading Sanba’s works, and, by extension, others of the tradition he represents. Finally, in addressing the wider problem of how

fiction was read and enjoyed, I have shown many genres of pre-modern Japanese popular fiction as mediums, of varying degree and subtlety, for recollection and reproduction of oral performance by the reader.

**Appendix I** includes a list of Sanba's publications alongside works published by Yorozyu Tajiemon and Horinoya Nihei, and **Appendix II**, a bibliographical study of various editions of a back-stock catalogue related to Sanba, both of which bear direct relevance to Chapter 2, and act as a building block for later chapters. **Appendix III** is a translation of an example of performance "re-enacted" in Sanba's work, in connection with the transcription of storytelling in Chapter 3. From my perspective, which concerns interpreting the calligraphy itself, translation per se does not play a large part. Therefore I have limited English renditions to "illustrating" the points I make rather than any full-blown translation focussing on content. **Appendix IV** has a list of primary source references, wherever a specific copy or edition of a work has been consulted throughout the thesis.

## Chapter 2 : Sanba's early theatre-related works

### and publishing activities

#### **I Sanba's early career**

##### **Biography to date**

Details of Sanba's biography have most recently been determined by Tanahashi in his book, *Shikitei Sanba* (1994). Much information comes from Bakin's various accounts, Katsu Tōshi in *Gesaku rokkasen*, and notes written by Sanba himself in covers of books etc.

Shikitei Sanba, whose real name was Kikuchi Tasuke, was born the eldest son of the woodblock carver, Kikuchi Mōhei of Tawara-machi, Asakusa, in Anei 5 (1776). He had a younger brother, Sasuke, who became a publisher.

Katsu Tōshi tells us that Sanba spent much of his time as a child visiting his aunt who worked at a Daimyo's residence, where he would read many playbooks (*gikyokubon*).<sup>1</sup> He spent his youth apprenticed to a publisher of light literature (*hanashibon* and *sharehon*), Horinoya Nihei,<sup>2</sup> to leave at the age of 17, resolving to become a *gesaku* writer, and producing his first *gesaku* work (two *kibyōshi*) the following year under the pen-name, "Shikitei Sanba". The name has been mooted as a combination of the names Sanwa and Enba, both older *gesaku* writers, and similarities with that of Utei Enba have lead scholars to presume Sanba entered Enba's discipleship from this time.<sup>3</sup> The name obviously also has ties with the Okina (old man) dance-play, *Sanba-sō*, as does the name of his writing studio, Tarari-rō, from the call of "tôtô tarari" of the old man.

After Sanba began to produce *kibyōshi* and *sharehon*, he became the adopted son-in-law of the publisher of serious literature, Yorozya Tajiemon, just before the turn of the century – Bakin dates it as "Kansei-chū" (during the Kansei period; 1789-1800).<sup>4</sup> He is, incidentally, the only source to name outright Yorozya in connection with Sanba. It was in Kansei 11 (1799) that Sanba ended up in shackles for writing *Kyan taiheiki mukō hachimaki*, which depicted a topic too sensitive: an incident involving Edo fire-fighters.

Due to his wife's death, Sanba was forced to leave the main publishing house early in Bunka 3 (1806), and opened a bookshop in Yokkaichi under the name of Yorozya Tasuke.

- 
1. *Gesaku rokkasen*, 383.
  2. Inscribed copy of *Tagasode nikki*, according to *Nihon Shōsetsu nenpyō*, 142.
  3. Nobuhiro 1980, 73.
  4. Takizawa Bakin, *Iwademo no ki*, 1819, Kokusho Kankōkai ed., 1913, 195.

However, this burned down after three months and he opened up again in Honkoku-chô as Nishinomiya Tasuke (taking the surname of the publisher of most of his own writing, Nishinomiya Shinroku<sup>5</sup>). From this time it is clear from sheer volume that *gesaku* writing took precedence, and it was at this point that his well-known *kokkeibon* such as *Ukiyoburo* and *Ukiyodoko* were born. Sanba's diary tells us that at the end of Bunka 7 (1810) he moves to Hon-chô, and became the Eastern outlet for a Kyoto brand of "longevity pills".<sup>6</sup> He then engages in an extensively profitable enterprise: the marketing of his own brand of toilet water, *Edo no mizu*. Sanba-brand goods then appeared en masse and are often advertised in his later works (a fashionable character in *Ukiyodoko* cleans his teeth with Sanba tooth powder). It would seem he ran a successful medicine business as well as earning much from his writing. He died there in Bunsei 5 (1822) aged 47.

Several details pertaining to his early career remain hazy. For example, although resolving to become a *gesaku* writer at the age of 18, Sanba only began to write *gesaku* in quantity after he had left Yorozyu in 1806. One can surmise that during the Kansei, Kyôwa and early Bunka periods (1789-1806), whilst residing at publishing houses, Sanba was occupied with some kind of publishing activities, but what did that mean in concrete terms? We shall find that a re-evaluation of Sanba's early biography using bibliographical sources will shed new light on the extent of Sanba activities during this early stage of his career, and tie him closer to the theatre and publishing worlds.

### Sanba's book collections

Sanba tells us that in the Bunka 3 (1806) fire at his premises his book collection turned to ashes.<sup>7</sup> Two books are known to me that evidently escaped the fire: a Hôreki 3 (1753) imprint of the *sharehon*, *Seki fujin den*,<sup>8</sup> and a copy of the Jôkyô 3 (1686) *ukiyozôshi*, *Kôshoku Ise monogatari*.<sup>9</sup> The former bears a seal with Sanba's address prior to 1806 as well as an inscription by him telling of its acquisition during the Kansei era (1789-1800), and the latter has a note written by Sanba dated Bunka 1 (1804). *Seki fujin den* (Tales of childless women) by Deirôshi, pseudonym of scholar, Yamaoka Shunmei, is considered an important

---

5. *Gesaku rokkasen*, 381.

6. *Shikitei zakki*, 46.

7. *Shikitei zakki*, 44.

8. Cambridge University Library collection. Details of specific copies of books mentioned in this chapter can be found in **Appendix IV**, Primary source references, p. 240.

9. British Library collection.

work in the history of early *gesaku* in setting the *sharehon* genre,<sup>10</sup> portraying a dialogue between a high-ranking courtesan and a lowly street hawker, in which the latter proves herself more virtuous. Of interest here is Sanba's ownership of this work whilst establishing himself as a *gesaku* writer. Both of these inscribed books will have further significance later on in this thesis.

Despite the fact that we are told many books burnt in the 1806 fire, Sanba left an extensive collection including many *engekisho* such as *serifubon* and numerous *Jôruri maruhon* (chanting books). Sanba also gathered together and bound into 5 volumes a vast number of *shibai banzuke* (playbills) from mid 18th to early 19th centuries, which has subsequently been named *Shikitei Sanba shibai banzuke shûshû* (Shikitei Sanba's playbill collection). As Hattori has remarked, this is such a comprehensive collection that it provides new information about plays performed during this era,<sup>11</sup> as well as giving an idea of plays Sanba may have watched at various times. Also, *Ichimura za kyôgen ehon*, a *banzuke* of Kyôhō 20 (1735), now in the Diet Library, has an inscription by Sanba giving details about various generations of the Ichikawa acting family.

Now scattered worldwide, a catalogue of the whole of Sanba's former collection has yet to be compiled, but items are easily recognisable thanks to his distinctive red seals and strong calligraphy hand. In addition, a thorough survey of the information provided by Sanba in inscriptions on many book-covers etc. is yet to be carried out. The largest collection of *sharehon* as well as some *ukiyozôshi* and *hanashibon* once owned by Sanba – many are also inscribed – are now in the Daitôkyû Collection in Tokyo. Other collections hold small numbers or one or two items. Most *sharehon* and *kibyôshi* date from the Anei-Tenmei eras, 1770-1780s.

Among the recent collection of essays in the volume entitled, *Tekusuto to wa nanika* (What is meant by text?), Suzuki Toshiyuki has traced the origins of *shoshigaku* (bibliographical study) in the Edo period. Sanba picks up on the general trend at this time of nostalgic cultural revelling in his *kibyôshi*, *Kusazôshi kojitsuke nendaiki* (A contorted history of illustrated fiction) of 1802, and Suzuki remarks on the depth of Sanba's knowledge of the past literary world, particularly *kusazôshi*.<sup>12</sup> *Kusazôshi kojitsuke nendaiki* is a history of the authors, illustrators and publishers involved in the production of *kusazôshi* from the early Edo period, as well as a chronological record of story style and book formats.

---

10. Nakamura 1982, 83.

11. Hattori 1984, 4. This album is now in the National Diet Library.

12. Suzuki 2003 [a], 253.

Though stressing the value of *nendaiki*, Suzuki denies that one could <sup>consider</sup> attribute Sanba's <sup>text as</sup> with accomplishing a bibliographical exercise. However, *Kusazôshi kojitsuke nendaiki* is perceptive even down to subtle developments in calligraphic style through the ages, and as such can surely be considered a bibliographic feat. Furthermore, collation of all the snippets Sanba provides in book covers or title slips of his vast collection would surely amass to a hoard of bibliographical-like information (before the collection became dispersed the library itself with all its inscriptions constituted a sort of bibliographical catalogue). Here I shall confine a collation of information to that of direct relevance to this thesis.

Of interest in this thesis is the large number of *maruhon* ex-libris Sanba, now in the Osaka Municipal Nakanoshima Library collection. Sanba re-covered his Jôruri books in uniform covers with a design of diagonal streaks of tan-coloured *kakishibu*. (*Kakishibu*, an extract from the stone of sour persimmon applied to book covers with a printing brush, was known to strengthen the paper, and act as an insect repellent<sup>13</sup>). In a copy of *Aizome gawa*<sup>14</sup> by Chikamatsu, Sanba has pasted the remnants of the old title slip onto a new fold of paper inside the new cover. It was presumably he who also attached each fragile sheet of the chanting books onto new paper before rebinding, as the paper is of the same texture and colouration as that used to face inside covers of which several examples bear Sanba's seal. Sometimes he provides information in comments inside the cover which highlight the book's significance. *Aizome gawa* bears the note in Sanba's hand, "This *Shin-Jôruri* originally performed at the Uji Kaganojô Theatre was re-performed on 8th day, 4th month, Jôkyô 2 (1685) at the Takemoto Theatre, and this chanting book dates from that occasion." Some of Sanba's collection hold significance in their own right: another inscription in his copy of *Aigo no waka miyako no fuji*<sup>15</sup> also by Chikamatsu, states that the Osaka playwright, Namiki Shôzô used to be the owner of this book, and, indeed, on the title page we can see a seal with the characters for "Nami, Shô" above that of "Shikitei".

Sanba had a penchant for re-covering books in his collection to his own taste (although an anathema to modern bibliographical analysis). However, his renovations are, on a practical note, testimony to his personal skill at bookbinding. Even by Sanba's day, publications dating from Chikamatsu's era were often in tatters. Sanba's Jôruri collection consists entirely of books that were in particularly bad condition; it would seem that he purposefully retained such examples in order to preserve them and give them new life. This

13. *Nihon kotenseki shoshigaku jiten*, 272.

14. Nakanoshima collection.

15. Nakanoshima collection.

shows his ability in, and dedication to, the art of book conservation. Thus, from his collection of chanting books we can sense his veneration for the books themselves as well as for the Jôruri texts they contain.

### Sanba and theatre

Sanba's knowledge of the theatre emerges in his theatre-themed works. Largely these show knowledge as spectator, and the ability to consider things from the pit, as documented in Raz's study of Sanba's *Kakusha hyôbanki* (Critique of the audience).<sup>16</sup> More esoteric sources, we will see, suggest a professional relationship with actors and theatre.

Tanahashi does not dwell in any length on the theme of Sanba and the theatre. However, he suggests that Sanba gained entry to the backstage greenroom as his own preface tells us: "I used to go up to the actors' greenroom and memorise all the playscript clichés" (from the preface to Yohôtei Gojô's *Kenkyû onna katakiuchi* [Kenkyû women's vendetta] of 1809).<sup>17</sup> "I used to.." (*mukashi*) could well point to the last years of Kansei, that is the very end of the 18th century. Sanba was notably the first writer to make use of "senbo" (secret theatre jargon) in his work.<sup>18</sup>

We know he was personally associated with the playwright, Namiki Gohei II (Shinoda Kinji): together they wrote *Kanadehon kura ishô* (Gleanings from the copy-book treasury), a *kokkeibon* on the "47 masterless samurai" theme, of 1811. Less well known is a theatre manuscript review written by Sanba, pasted in the album, *Shikanjô*<sup>19</sup> put together by Kimura Mokurô in Ansei 1 (1854). As a samurai from Takamatsu with a taste for Edo popular culture, Mokurô befriended Bakin in his later years in order to discover more about the authors of the books he had read as a boy.<sup>20</sup> The handwritten piece by Sanba is in the form of a letter, stating that he has perused, and subsequently makes comments on, "Shibai miyô no shikata" (Rules for play-watching), an unsigned manuscript now in the Diet library and dated Bunka 12 (1815). Sanba writes about the confusion arising from the use of Kamigata language to describe the performance of Onoe Shôroku, whom Sanba praises for learning the strong Edo style of old from Otani Tsuru, but who had been accused of harsh *wagoto* (soft-style) acting in Kamigata. Shôroku was an Edo actor constantly moving to and

---

16. Raz 1980.

17. Tanahashi, 1994, 154.

18. Ebara 1980, 448.

19. Album mostly devoted to Shikan, Nakamura Utaemon III. Chiba City Art Museum collection. Reproduced in Matsudaira 1995, 180.

20. Matsudaira 1995, 240.

fro between Edo and Kamigata.<sup>21</sup> This shows Sanba's detailed knowledge and ability to evaluate theatre; moreover, in the album *Mokurô* labels Sanba as a "Yakusha Hyôja" (actor/theatre critic). There could be more behind this, that with all the information Mokurô gleaned he found that Sanba actually wrote *hyôbanki* (critiques). We know Sanba at least wrote a preface for the critique, *Yakusha saikenki* (Detailed record of actors) of Kansei 11 (1799).

The earliest outcome of Sanba's Kabuki theatre connections can be seen in his contribution to the Kabuki-book (*gekisho*) boom of late Kansei/Kyôwa periods (c.1799-1804). This trend grew out of the demand for information about behind the scenes of the theatre. Among Sanba's early *kibyôshi* and *sharehon* suddenly appear lengthy textually-dense *gekisho*. These are the forerunners of his theatre-related *kokkeibon* such as *Kejô suigen maku no soto* (Theatre-style outside the curtain), *Kakusha hyôbanki*, *Chûshingura henchikiron* (Eccentric's view of *Treasury of Loyal retainers*) and *Taizen sekai gakuya saguri* (Searching the greenroom of a thousand realms) and thus crucial to the latter's understanding.

These Kansei/Kyôwa period *gekisho* are namely *Yakusha gakuya tsû* (Connoisseur's guide to the actors' greenrooms) of 1799, *Yakusha sangai kyô* (Actors' amusements in the third floor green room) of 1801 and *Shibai kinmô zui* (Illustrated encyclopaedia of plays) of 1803. *Yakusha sanjûni sô* (Thirty-two actor faces) of 1802 and *Haiyûkei* (Key to actors) of 1803 have also been mooted, though unproven, to be of Sanba's pen.<sup>22</sup> I shall show as the results of my research, that they are most certainly at least partially of Sanba's creation. Thus, of the works credited to this trend, Sanba will be seen to stand out as a major participant alongside Utagawa Toyokuni, who led the way as actor print artist in Edo. They provided not just a story or a string of facts; Sanba found he could give information about the theatre in an enjoyable format.

Discussion of Sanba's early theatre-related works (*gekisho*) necessarily involves a closer analysis of the activities other than authorship of his early career. I will show that the relationship between Sanba and the three publishing houses mentioned above in "Biography to date" of Horinoya Nihei, Yorozya Tajiemon, and Nishinomiya Shinroku was grounded on the production of theatre-related works. The theatre proves a common denominator in Sanba's relations and activities at this time.

---

21. Kabuki jinmei jiten, 192.

22. Tanahashi 1989 Vol. 3, 42-3.



## Circa 1800 Kabuki-book boom and Sanba

Until late Kansei one can trace the two lines within *gekisho* of actor print books (*yakusha ehon*) and theatre guides (*gaisetsu sho*), thereafter the distinction becomes clouded. Kamigata had previously led the way both in the theatre guide under the Hachimonjiya monopoly, and in the actor print book, which had culminated in works such as artist, Ryûkôsai Jokei's *Ehon hana ayame* (Picture book: iris flowers) of 1794, double pages of facing, full-length actors in role-part.<sup>23</sup> The distinctive feature of this new era of *gekisho*, Akama suggests, is the coupling of actor likenesses with an expanded written text.<sup>24</sup> This development was most likely induced by readers' interest in the actors themselves, and their demand for information about behind the scenes in more specific ways. We find this initiative took place in Edo. Shôkôsai Hanbei of Osaka produced the first coloured print book of actor portraits, *Ehon Futaba aoi* (Double leafed hollyhock) in 1798, which we see Edo's Toyokuni and Kunimasa, in conjunction with prose-writer Sanba, pick up on the next year in the first "combination *gekisho*".

Works that can be attributed to this new trend are as follows:

Kansei 11	(1799)	Title	Author	Artist	Publisher
Edo		Yakusha gakuya tsû	Sanba	Toyokuni/ Kunimasa	Kazusaya Chûsuke
[Edo		Yakusha saikenki	Sanba	(preface)	Enomoto Kichibei]
Kansei 12	(1800)				
Edo		Yakusha meisho zue	Bakin	Toyokuni	Tsuruya Kizaemon, Osaka: Hachimonjiya
Osaka		Yakusha hyakunin yoso- oi kagami	Jishô	Ryukôsai	Hachimonjiya, Edo: Tsuruya Kizaemon
Osaka		Zôho shibai ichiran	Jishô		Hachimonjiya, Edo: Tsuruya Kizaemon
Kyôwa 1	(1801)				
Edo		Yakusha sangai kyô	Sanba	Toyokuni	Nishinomiya Shinroku, Yorozuya Tajiemon
Osaka		Shibai gakuya zue	Shôkôsai	Shôkôsai	Shioya Chôbei, Hachimonjiya
Osaka		Shibai setsuyôshû	Kôbunsha	Unhō	Ogiya Rihei
Kyôwa 2	(1802)				
Edo		Yakusha sanjûnisô	Toshi Shôkyaku	Toyokuni	Horinoya Nihei, Tsutajû
Kyôwa 3	(1803)				
Edo		Shibai kinmô zui	Sanba	Shunei/ Toyokuni	Yorozuya Tajiemon, Nishinomiya Shinroku etc.
Edo		Haiyûkei	Tôshi Shôkyaku	Toyokuni	Horinoya Nihei, Harimaya Shinshichi
Edo		Yakusha konote kashiwa	Enba	Toyokuni	Enjudô
Edo		Shibai nenjû kôji	Takemura	Toyokuni	Tsutajû, Hamamatsuya Kôsukeye
Edo		Sazareishi	Kyokuroan		Kazusaya Chûsuke

23. Gerstle 2005, 88.

24. Akama 1997, 38.

Akama cites Bakin's *Yakusha meissho zue* (Actors: an illustrated guide to famous places) of 1800 as the pivotal work in this Kansei/Kyôwa theatre-book boom as he inserted actor likenesses into the written text.<sup>25</sup> Yet, Sanba was already capable of answering the same needs, but kept the portraits and text separate. *Yakusha gakuya tsû* of 1799 combines actor prints and a written text. Sanba provided an indirect guide to the theatre through comic tales about theatre fanatics who live life as if on stage:

*Yakusha gakuya tsû* (Connoisseur's guide to the actors' greenrooms) is Sanba's first *gekisho*. The first half of this one volume, *chûbon* (mid)-sized work consists of 36 bust likenesses (*ôkubi-e*) of actors by Toyokuni and Kunimasa which include *kyôka* pertaining to each actor composed by *kyôka* masters and others, while the latter half is entitled "Yakusha hiiki katagi," (Types of actor fanatics) and, as Sanba notes in the *hanrei* (Opening remarks), is an emulation of the Hachimonjiya *bon*-style *ukiyozôshi* of earlier Edo period, in which traits of certain types of character are humorously depicted (*katagi mono*). The first section introduces the protagonists. A wealthy houseowner and play sponsor called Denbô and his son Nontarô (both names for people who sneak into the theatre without paying) are so crazed by the theatre that their whole household has to conduct itself as if in a play, both in words and actions. Theatre enthusiasts gather at the house and display their knowledge. The most heated arguments arise when comparing past and present theatre. In the second section, the Confucian scholar nephew of the family tries to make his relatives see sense, but he too gets besotted with the theatre in the process. The third section then sees Nontarô decide to take a bride, but as it will not do that she has no interest in plays, Denbô performs a parody on Chûshingura Part IX (where Oishi, Yuranosuke's wife is overcome by the courage of the mother and daughter of enemy Honzô who are about to commit suicide rather than annul the marriage to the son, Rikiya). Denbô's *kowaiiro* cry in the role of Oishi, of "Gomuyô" (Pointless!) bewitches the bride, and the tale ends happily.

A transcription of Sanba's appendix to *Yakusha gakuya tsû*, "Yakusha hiiki katagi", appeared in Teikoku Bunko's *Zoku katagi zenshû*, and it has already been noted by Honda as a forerunner of Sanba's later period *kokkeibon*.<sup>26</sup> The Hachimonjiya exchange is reciprocated the following year when we see a similar format in Jishô's *Yakusha hyakunin yoso-oi kagami* (Hundred actors' poems, mirror of elegant appearances).

---

25. Ibid., 35.

26. Honda 1973, 72.

*Yakusha sangai kyô* (Actors' amusements in the third-floor greenroom) of 1801: the first halves of its two *hanshibon* (semi-large)-sized volumes contain actor prints by Toyokuni depicting actors in everyday situations and dress, which very much resemble the style of actor prints of the *yakusha ehon*, *Yakusha natsu no fuji* (Actors: Mt Fuji in summer) of 1780. These have been reproduced and commented upon in Asano 1988 among others. Generally considered only as a *yakusha ehon* (actor print book) in catalogues and commentaries, *Yakusha sangai kyô* in fact appends a written text by Sanba, which, in its opening remarks, purports to be an epilogue to *Yakusha gakuya tsû*. Whereas the appendix of *Gakuya tsû* has its own title of "Yakusha hiiki katagi", the appendix to *Sangai kyô* remains anonymous. It is true that the appendix resembles that of *Gakuya tsû* in as much as it describes a stage-like way of life in much comic detail. Some elements in its narrative are also borrowed from Bakin's *Yakusha meisho zue*. (However, as will be discussed later in this chapter, through *Sangai kyô*'s chosen subject matter and timeliness, it in fact holds much greater significance).

An advertisement in *Sangai kyô* suggests Sanba was planning a certain "Yakusha setsuyôshû kyôgen bukuro", but it was superseded in format by Kôbunsha's *Shibai setsuyôshû* (Play handbook) out of Osaka, and the idea was obviously dropped.<sup>27</sup>

*Yakusha sanjûni sô* (Thirty-two actor faces) of 1802 and *Haiyûkei* (Key to actors) of 1803, both illustrated by Toyokuni, are written by a "Tôshi Shôkyaku" of Hon-chô district. *Yakusha sanjûni sô* discusses the different types of actor faces in a similar format to the physiognomy, *Ninsô kokagami taizen* of Jôkyô1 (1684), while *Haiyûkei* is a collection of *haikai* styled on those of the long-running poem anthology, *Haikaikei*, and are themed on various popular actors. "Tôshi Shôkyaku" is a yet unidentified pen-name, which translates merely as "Edoite recluse". On discussing the role of *yakusha ehon*, Suzuki Jûzô (although under the impression that Bakin is the author) describes *Sanjûni sô* as including a mock-physiognomist's descriptions which are actually invaluable references for knowing individual actors' attributes.<sup>28</sup> Akama recently recorded the author as Takizawa Bakin,<sup>29</sup> whose name appears as the writer of the preface, but as Bakin himself alludes to the author "Tôshi Shôkyaku" of Hon-chô district in his preface, Bakin's authorship of the work is unlikely. Two *kyôka* masters, Oya no Urasumi and Nakai Tôdô were resident in Hon-chô at this time,<sup>30</sup> but neither's links with the theatre and the other subjects of these works are clear.

27. Hamada 1993, 218.

28. Suzuki 1979, 374.

29. Akama 2003, 211.

30. *Edo hôkaku wake*. Nakano 1977.

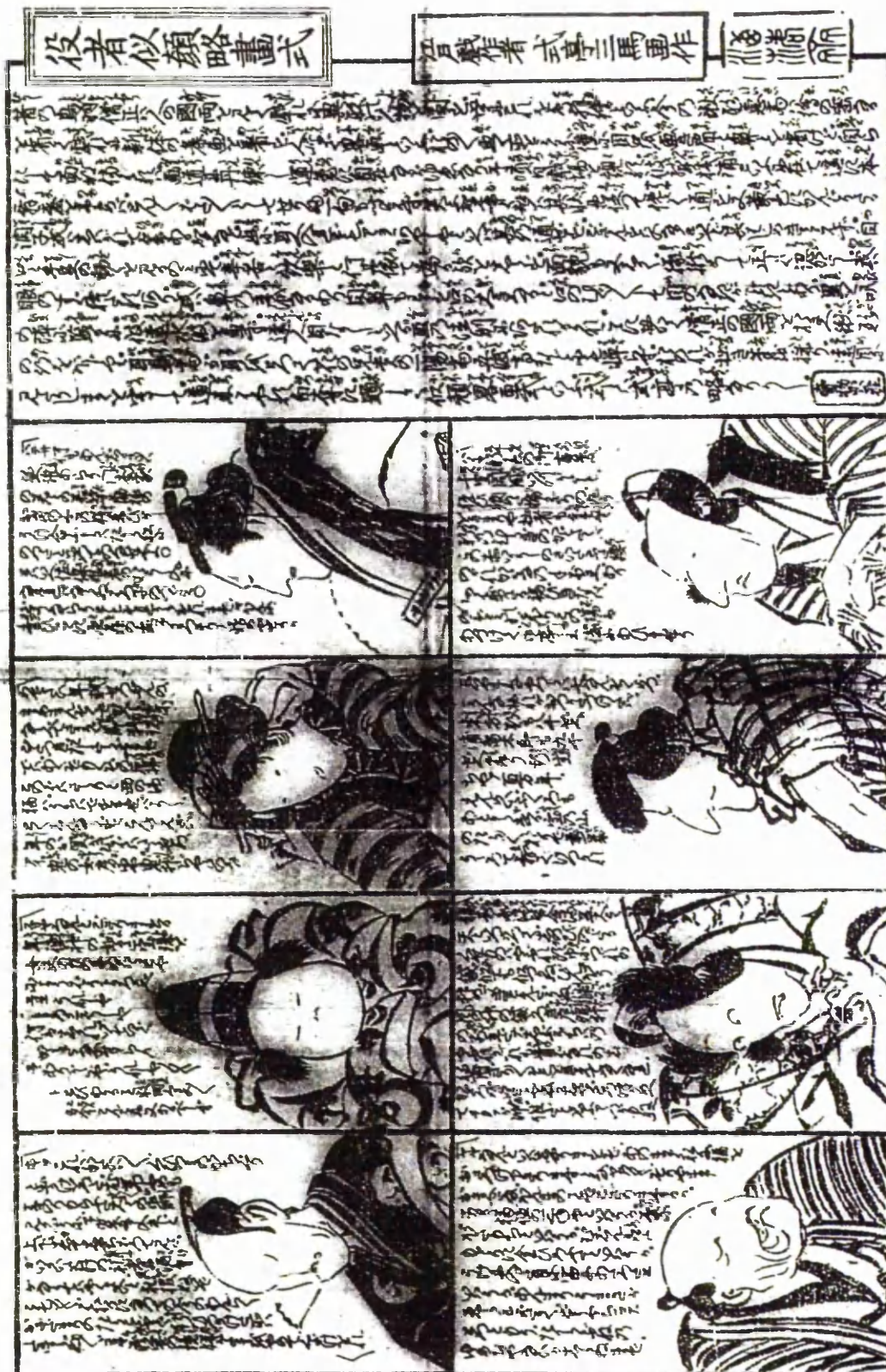


Figure 1. *Yakusha nigao Ryakugashiki*. c. 1814. Katei Bunko.



Three years after *Sanjûni sô*, Sanba produces a witty physiognomical chart as a guide to actors' faces in *Ono no bakamura usoji zukushi* (Ono no Bakamura's phoney dictionary<sup>31</sup>). He then rehashes the idea once again at the real "Hon-chô" in a single-sheet publication, *Yakusha nigao ryakugashiki* (Abbreviated-style actor faces). His own attempt at actor portraits, he uses just a few marks in Toba-e style to suggest a certain actor's features, leaving the rest of the clues as to their role-parts to the amusing speech surrounding the figures. It also shows Sanba's cosmopolitan interests in the range of actors he chooses to depict: while featuring famous faces such as Hakuen and Kôshirô, he also includes minor actors from Kamigata. Despite the scanty lines of the abbreviated drawings, all faces have proved identifiable by comparison with actor prints by eminent artists. The roles in which they are portrayed would suggest the publication to be of around Bunka 11 (1814).<sup>32</sup> Thus, the earlier, more serious physiognomical exercise carried out in *Yakusha sanjûni sô* would have prepared Sanba for these two later parodies. [Figure 1, p. 39]

Although Tanahashi speculates whether the author might be Sanba in *Kibyôshi sôran*,<sup>33</sup> he no longer states this opinion in *Shikitei Sanba* (1994). The issue will be raised again later in this chapter, and arguments presented to show that we can now almost safely credit these two additional texts to Sanba.

Sanba's last *gekisho*, *Shibai kinmô zui* (Illustrated encyclopaedia of the theatre) of 1803, is a comic encyclopaedia on the theatre, which categorises various aspects of the theatre world according to the Tenmon astronomical phenomenon. Hattori describes it as instigating make-believe theatre as truths in the "theatre kingdom", and unearths humour from the discrepancies created between it and the truths of everyday life.<sup>34</sup> In this respect it would seem to follow on from *Gakuya tsû* and *Sangai kyô*. Hamada has indicated that as regards its role of back-stage guidebook it borrowed much information from *Ukan sandai zue* (Illustrated guide to the 3 Edo Kabuki theatres; 1793) by Hôseidô Kisanji of 12 years previous, to a point where he is almost scathing of Sanba's plagiarism.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, in its 7th volume Sanba had the foresight to include as a selling ploy full-length portraits of actors by Toyokuni, the portrait style reminiscent of Shôkôsai's *Shibai gakuya zue* (An illustrated

31. Title trans. Screech 1996, 179.

32. This publication appears yet to be brought to the attention of *gesaku* and Kabuki researchers alike. The only two copies known to me are in Tokyo University's Katei Bunko and in a private collection.

33. Tanahashi 1989 Vol.3, 42-3.

34. Hattori 1969, 6.

35. Hamada 1993, 219.

guide to backstage at the theatre) of 1800. Each portrait contains an accompanying *kyôka*, as in his own *Gakuya tsû*.

Perusal of the list of titles in the chart indicates that by the end of Kyôwa (1803) most of the possibilities for new formats for *gekisho* had been exhausted: *meisho zue*, *setsuyô shû*, *kinmô zui* etc. There were also many titles which had ended with just mentions in advertisements or in manuscript form (including ones by Bakin and Sanba). With the start of the Bunka era (1804-) tales of vengeance (*katakiuchi mono*) in *gôkan* format became the trend in Edo (*e-iri nehon* [illustrated play-scripts] in Kamigata), and with actor likenesses appearing on their pages, the Kabuki book “boom” was brought to a close. However, the aim of *gekisho*, that of educating the ordinary townspeople into *tsû-dom* (connoisseurship), had been achieved, the eventual all-encompassing manual perhaps taking shape in Sanba’s *Shibai kinmô zui*.

Although the late Kansei/Kyôwa Kabuki book trend was short, Sanba took a major part in its success. An interesting exchange between Edo and Osaka also took place which shaped the development of *gekisho* in respect of their actor prints, use of poetry, and inclusion of written text.

Toyokuni and Kunimasa’s actor prints in *Yakusha gakuya tsû* have been credited with stimulating the most active period in the history of *gekisho*.<sup>36</sup> Sanba, who contributed the preface, postscript and prose section to the work (and who was also responsible for the inclusion of *kyôka* – to be discussed below), may have also had some say in the design of the actor prints. A copy of the *kibyôshi*, *Sono henpô bakemono banashi* (Tale of the spooks’ revenge) by Koikawa Harumachi and illustrated by Katsukawa Shunshô of 1776, has a note written by Sanba on the front cover indicating he was born in the year this book was published.<sup>37</sup> This *kibyôshi* has been noted by Clark as a significant work in the history of *ôkubi-e*: ghosts use fans painted by Shunshô with close-up faces (*ôkubi-e nigao*) of actors to frighten their foes, the foxes with the realistic power of the new actor portraits.<sup>38</sup> Could this work, a copy known to have been a cherished possession, have perhaps stimulated Sanba to make suggestions for his own *gekisho*?

We see formats for the illustrations in each of Sanba’s *gekisho* falling neatly into the three different categories of actor print books of the age. *Yakusha gakuya tsû* attempts the

---

36. Akama 1997, 35.

37. Mizuno 1969, 25.

38. Clark 2005, 43.

actor print-type illustration (*yakusha ehon*-type), *Yakusha sangai kyô* exhibits actors in landscape settings (*Natsu no fuji*-type), and *Shibai kinmô zui* includes full-length portraits (as in *Shibai gakuya zue*). One can surmise that there was one more producer-figure besides Sanba in the creation of his *gekisho* - that was the publisher of his first, and thereafter numerous, works, Nishinomiya Shinroku. The opening remarks of *Yakusha sangai kyô* explain that he visited Sanba to show him the prototype pictures he had commissioned from Toyokuni, and to ask him to provide an accompanying text. The colophon of this work places Nishinomiya on the left, and therefore, main position. Also in the preface to *Shibai kinmô zui*, Sanba writes how he was visited by the same and was urged for a first draft. In this colophon too Nishinomiya takes a prominent position among several publishers.

*Yakusha gakuya tsû*, on the other hand, has Kazusaya Chûsuke as the sole publisher. However, as pointed out by Osawa Makoto,<sup>39</sup> an advertisement for *Yakusha gakuya tsû* features in a list of new publications from Nishinomiya for that year. Although, then, scheduled for publication by Nishinomiya, for some reason the publishing rights for this particular work passed to Kazusaya. In other words, Nishinomiya was involved with Sanba (and Toyokuni) in the creation of all three of Sanba's *gekisho*, and by extension in the pioneering of this new format of *gekisho*. Not only was the Jôruri *shôhon* (chanting script) publisher, Nishinomiya Shinroku introduced to constant *gesaku* fiction publishing since the occasion of Sanba's first work in Kansei 6 (1794), we then see Nishinomiya together with his business partner, Sanba enter into the world of *gekisho* production.

### **The relationship of *gekisho* and *kyôka***

Akama evaluated *Yakusha gakuya tsû*, from the perspective of Toyokuni and Kunimasa's actor prints, as the work to stimulate the most active period in the history of *gekisho*. Not only this: *Yakusha gakuya tsû* boasts *kyôka* by members of the Kanda School *kyôka* circle written around the portrait of each actor. There appears to be no precedent in combining *kyôka* within actor prints with a theatre-related text in one volume. Even Hachimonjiya/Jishô of Osaka copied the idea the next year in *Yakusha hyakunin isshu yoso-oi kagami*, and may even have taken the idea for the title from the text of *Yakusha gakuya tsû*: in the 3rd and final story, the father of the family which lives life as if on stage, tries to convert his son's theatre-loathing bride by showing her a book illustrated by Toyokuni and Kunimasa called "Yakusha hyôban hyakunin isshu". It refers of course to the

---

39. "Fuun no shodai Utagawa Toyokuni <6>" *Kikan ukiyo-e* 95, noted in Tanahashi 1989 Vol.2, 707-11.

Toyokuni/Kunimasa-illustrated volume, *Gakuya tsû*, itself. Jishô then promptly uses the *hyakunin issshu* (“100 poems by 100 poets”) format for his own *gekisho* the next year.

*Kyôka* in the actor prints of *Yakusha gakuya tsû* of 1799 are limited to those by the Kanda School. The head of this school, Sandara Hôshi, takes the main and final position in *Yakusha gakuya tsû* by offering a verse to the print of Hakuen (formerly Danjûrô V). In *Kyôka tôzai shû* (*Kyôka* collection of east and west) edited by Sandara Hôshi of the same year (1799) Sanba suddenly displays 16 *kyôka*, suggesting these two works (*Yakusha gakuya tsû* and *Kyôka tôzai shû*) signify a professional exchange between Sanba and Sandara Hôshi.<sup>40</sup> Incidentally, *Kyôka tôzai shû* was also initially published by Nishinomiya Shinroku.

Actor prints with *kyôka* proved evidently popular: 4 years later in 1803, in the actor prints by Toyokuni of Vol. 7 of Sanba’s *Shibai kinmô zui*, the sphere of *kyôka* composition was expanded to include masters from all *kyôka* schools and also eminent *gesaku* writers. In the same year Sanba edited the major *kyôka* collection of the age, *Kyôka kei* (Key to *kyôka*). Most of the *kyôka* masters included in *Kyôka kei* also offered verses in *Shibai kinmô zui*.

According to Bakin in his *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* (Classification of Edo writers of recent times), prefaced 1834, “From the time of his residence in Yamashita-chô, Sanba used to visit Kyôkadô and study *kyôka* under Magao”.<sup>41</sup> Sanba, then, it has often been supposed, learnt *kyôka* from Utagaki Magao of the Yomoren School (begun by Ôta Nanpo) during his time at Yorozyua’s, the two houses being near each other in the vicinity of Sukiyabashi. This often-quoted passage binding Sanba to Yomoren has recently been questioned by the suggestion that Bakin was mistaken over the purpose of Sanba’s visits to his neighbour, Magao, and that the two were merely friends.<sup>42</sup> In spring 1803 Sanba appeared as editor of *Kyôka kei*, in which Magao occupied a prominent position. Also in spring 1803 Magao offered a postscript and *kyôka* to Sanba’s *gekisho*, *Shibai kinmô zui*, as well as a preface to *Mashin kigen* (Witty discourse on the measles) in the 6th month, written by Sanba whilst he had fallen victim to the measles epidemic which forms the theme of the book. Indeed, rather than a teacher-pupil relationship, we clearly see a social one between Magao and Sanba, culminating in marked respect for each other’s mode of composition.

---

40. Yoshimaru has recently suggested this cluster of activity in 1799 to be evidence of Sanba’s learning *kyôka* under Sandara Hôshi (Yoshimaru 2004, 35). However, the discipleship appears over within the year.

41. Kimura 1988, 50.

42. Yoshimaru 2004, 36.



Bakin goes on to note in *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* that Sanba struggled in *kyōka* circles because of his ineptitude at composing verse.<sup>43</sup> Although perhaps not personally good at composing *kyōka*, Sanba took advantage of the “multi-genre” environment, using *kyōka* associations as a doorway to where his real interests lay. We can see the expansion of Sanba’s *kyōka* associations thus mirrored in the development of his *gekisho* from *Yakusha gakuya tsū* (1799) to *Shibai kinmō zui* (1803).

Although we do not know for sure how Sanba first became involved with the theatre, acquaintance from early on with the *gesaku* writer, raconteur, and sponsor of the Ichikawa Danjūrō fan club (Mimasuren), Utei Enba, influenced Sanba immensely. In Kansei 7 (1795), a year after his first book, Sanba re-wrote Enba’s puppet play script, *Jōruri gotaiheiki shiroishi banashi* (The tale of Shiroishi and the chronicles of great peace) in *kibyōshi* format, publishing it through the same Nishinomiya Shinroku. Nobuhiro suggests that it was from this time that Sanba knew Enba and entered his discipleship,<sup>44</sup> but again, the establishing of the relationship between the two also involved *kyōka*. During the Kaomise (Stage line-up) of 1798 Hakuen unexpectedly made an appearance: the speech that he made, followed by several *kyōka* offered on the occasion, being cited in Enba’s *Kabuki nendaiki* (Chronicle of kabuki). Among them we see Sanba’s first recorded *kyōka* composition.

Mimasuren’s activities and members were not confined to those of the *kyōka* world. However, Mimasuren *kyōka shū* can be seen to create the link between the theatre and *kyōka* circles. Enba began the Danjūrō fan club, Mimasuren (*mimasu* referring to the three concentric squares of the Danjūrō crest) in the Tenmei era (1781-8), as a support group and event-organizer for Danjūrō V, and involved him personally even more once he had retired from the stage in 1796. Mimasuren’s commemorative publications took the shape of *kyōka shū* and *hanashibon*. Nobuhiro has indicated that Sanba included *kyōka* in 4 of the 7 Mimasuren *kyōka* compilations edited by Enba.<sup>45</sup> The first of these 4, *Kyōka Hakuen isshu shō* (Gleanings from Hakuen’s hundred poems of the day), which records the *kyōka* composed at Hakuen’s Kaomise speech, appeared in the same year (1799) as the above-mentioned *Yakusha gakuya tsū* and *Kyōka tōzai shū*, proving that Sanba’s debut in *gekisho*

---

43. This has been explained as Sanba’s continued flippant air in composing *kyōka* disinctive to the Kanda School (Yoshimaru 2004, 35). This is, however, a trait throughout Sanba’s penmanship, either emanating from *kyōka* (to take Yoshimaru’s point further), or naturally extending to *kyōka*. The argument remains inconclusive.

44. Nobuhiro 1980, 73.

45. Nobuhiro 1986, 119.

and *kyōka* anthologies was simultaneous. Not only that, Sanba's *gekisho* were closely connected with *kyōka* from the outset, and therefore should be considered in tandem when researched.

In the colophons of *Yakusha sangai kyō* and *Shibai kinmō zui*, where the names Yorozyua Tajiemon and Nishinomiya Shinroku are alongside each other, we can detect an association between *mono no honya* (serious literature book publishing, represented by Yorozyua Tajiemon) and *jihonya* (light literature book publishing, Nishinomiya Shinroku). Here *kyōka* and *gekisho* appear as items publishable from both type of concern: a starting-point for discussion in the next section.

## II Sanba and publishing

### Yorozyua Tajiemon

*Kyōka kei* (Part I) of 1803 is a major *kyōka* collection of the age, featuring poets from all major schools as well as eminent *gesaku* writers, and also doubling as a guide to the *kyōka* marking system.<sup>46</sup> In fact, it had been announced as early as Tenmei 7 (1787) in advertisements found in three eminent *kyōka* collections of that year with Utagaki Magao as the proposed editor: *Ehon mushi erami*,<sup>47</sup> *Kokin kyōka bukuro* and *Kyōka saizō shū*, and again in *Kyōka jōdan shū* of Kansei 5 (1793).<sup>48</sup> These were all published by Tsutaya Jūsaburō. The eventual assignation of the task of editor to Sanba speaks much of his ability to produce and organise.

Not only this: as indicated by Tanahashi, the colophon of a first edition *Kyōka kei* (1803) lists Yorozyua Tajiemon as “seihon jo”, the actual book-binding publisher, and beneath this has been pressed a red seal which reads, “Sanba no in”, (Sanba's seal). As Tanahashi has already stated, “Hence, the probability of Yorozyua being Sanba himself in *Kyōka kei* is somewhat high”.<sup>49</sup> [Figure 2A\*, p. 47]

Tanahashi also draws attention to the colophon of *Kyōka kei* Part II of 1806, where two publishers' names are listed: Yorozyua Tajiemon and Yorozyua Tasuke. We know from *Edo hōkaku wake* (Directory of all Edo) that Sanba at some point went by the name of

---

46. Kobayashi 2002, 42.

47. This was pointed out to me by Kobayashi Fumiko.

48. Yoshimaru 2004, 37-38.

49. Tanahashi 1994, 28.

Yorozuya Tasuke, suggesting that the sole *seihon jo* (book-binding) publisher, Yorozuya Tajiemon of *Kyôka kei* Part I (namely Sanba) is of a different identity in Part II, published in first month of 1806.<sup>50</sup> [Figure 3A, p. 48]

The isolated case of *Kyôka kei* sheds little light on Sanba's whole career at this time. However, I found a first edition copy of *Shibai kinmô zui*<sup>51</sup> of the same 1803 whose colophon has the *seihon jo* publisher as Yorozuya Tajiemon, and the marketing publishers (Edo) Nishinomiya Shinroku, Ishiwatari Sasuke, (Kyoto) Hashiya Zensuke, (Naniwa) Katsuoya Rokubei, (Owari) Eirakuya Tôshirô; stamped under Yorozuya's name is a seal which we know from *Kyôka kei* to have belonged to Sanba. [Figure 2B\*\*]

The seal reads, "Tôbu Sûkiyabashi minami no ie ni ari" (In residence at South Sukiya bridge, Eastern capital), and features on a page exhibiting Sanba's various seals and nicknames following his *kyôka* compositions in *Kyôka kei* Part I. [Figure 2C]

To confirm Yorozuya's identity here more firmly, the existence of two colophons in different copies of *Shibaikinmô zui* shows that the printing rights changed publishers by 1806. We can tell that the block is the same up until the publishers' names in both Geijutsu University copy and Kyushu University copy. We know which is the later one because of the gaps in the frame in Kyushu University copy which tell us that the wood has been gouged out and another block inserted and re-carved (*umeki* technique). A comparison of these colophons indirectly indicates that Sanba himself was the original publisher of his own work. We know that Sanba, sometime after leaving Yorozuya, styled himself Nishinomiya Tasuke,<sup>52</sup> who, according to the later colophon, passed the blocks onto another shop, Kazusaya Chûsuke (the eventual publisher, we recall, of *Yakusha gakuya tsû* of 1799). Unlike those of the writer, publishers' copyright laws were firmly in place, and Kazusaya correctly acknowledges the identity of the former publisher. So the earlier (1803) Yorozuya Tajiemon must refer to Sanba himself. [Figure 3B]

As with *Kyôka kei* Part I, this last of Sanba's *gekisho* is therefore shown by two pieces of evidence to be both written and published (as *seihon jo*, "place of binding") by Sanba himself, under the name of Yorozuya Tajiemon. Therefore, both *Kyôka kei*, a sign of obligation towards his *kyôka* master elders, and *Shibai kinmô zui*, the family affair which was carved by his real father, Kikuchi Môhei, and marketed by his brother, (Ishiwatari) Sasuke, could well have involved Sanba's own "personal" touch, at least in the first impression seal-

---

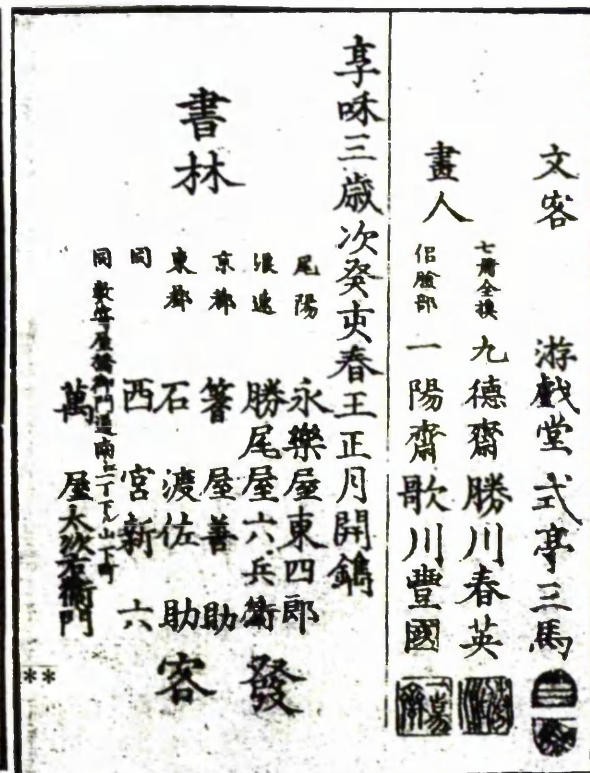
50. Ibid., 32.

51. Geijutsu University collection.

52. *Gesaku rokkasen*, 381.



A. *Kyōka kei* Part I. 1803. Kyushu Univ. Library. Colophon.



B. *Shibai kinmō zui*. 1803. Geidai Univ. Library. Colophon.

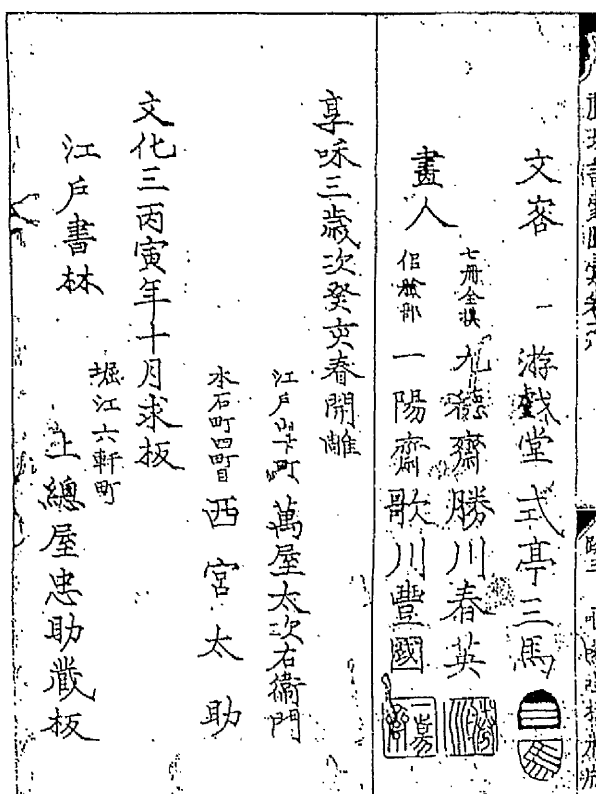
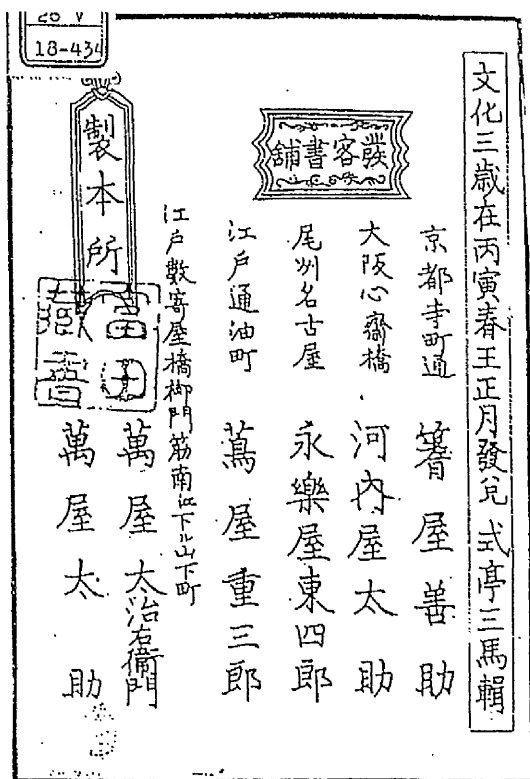


C. *Kyōka kei* Part I. 1803. Kyushu Univ. Library. 46chō.

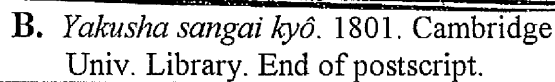
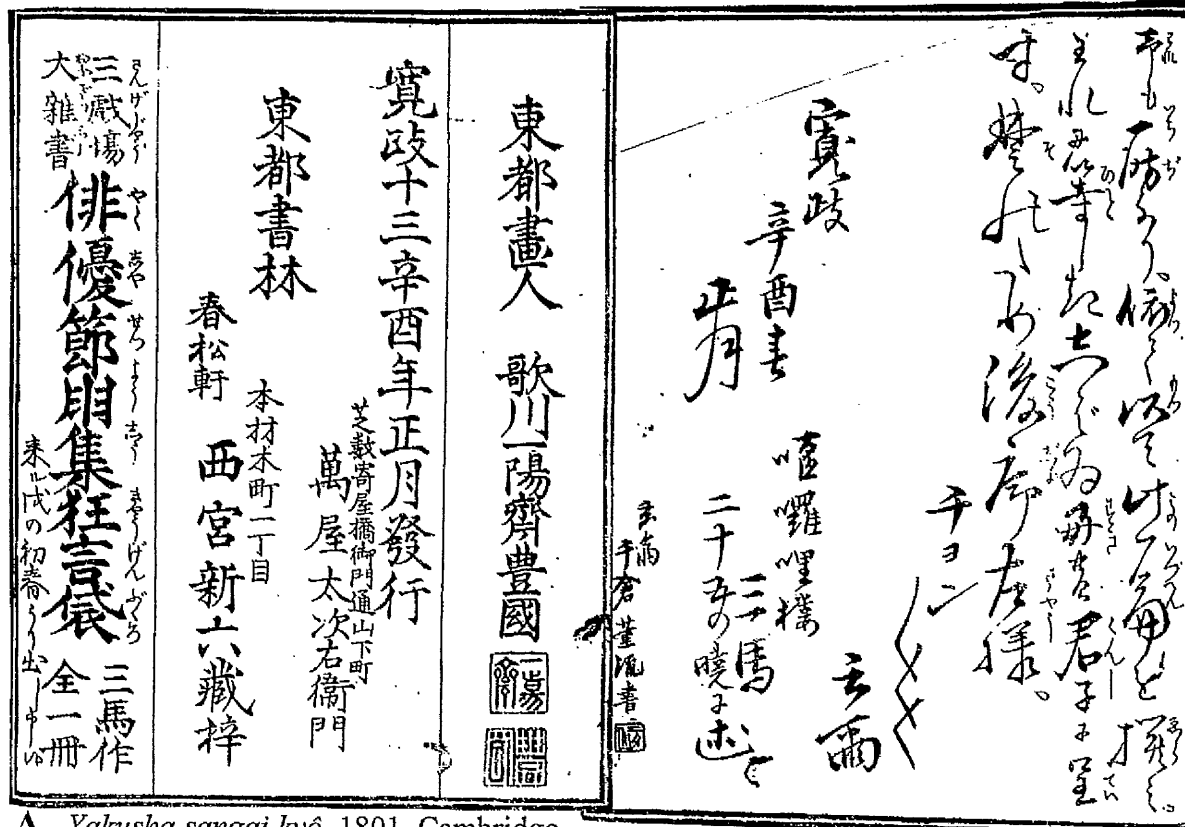


D. *Kôtô ryaku zu*. 1804. Nakano Collection. Envelope.

Figure 2.



**Figure 3.**



### Figure 4.





stamped copies. We know from the renovated Jôruri collection of his later years that Sanba himself possessed the skill of book-binding, which could well have been sought and utilised during his time at the Yorozyu establishment.

The only other new publication from Yorozyu for 1803 that can be identified is *Mashin kigen*, a satire written by Sanba about the measles epidemic whilst he had fallen victim to it - the *kohon kokkeibon* (small-format comic work) genre was a previously unheard-of publication for a *mono no honya* (publisher of serious literature). At least in 1803, then, we see Sanba monopolizing the Yorozyu business with his own new publications.

I then found *Kôtô ryakuzu*, a double-sided sheet-format imperial genealogy of 1804 edited by Sanba<sup>53</sup> also to have Sanba's seal "Sanba no in", this time reproduced in woodblock, under Yorozyu (Rankôdô)'s name on its envelope, indicating this too to be of Sanba's physical publication. [Figure 2D]

*Kyôgen kigyo* (Entertaining words of old), a collection of comic writing of 1804 celebrating Enba's sixtieth birthday, was published by Yorozyu, although to date this has been an unknown fact as every extant copy has had the name Yorozyu erased with an extra imprint of black woodblock over the top. Careful observance from the underside of the folded page of the Tokyo University copy revealed the name of Yorozyu Tajiemon. This was most likely another case of Sanba publishing his own work.

Sanba's hand in Yorozyu's business would appear, then, to continue for a few years. In fact, Yorozyu's publications and Sanba's writing correspond exactly for the two years, 1803 and 1804 (bar *Kyôka musashiburi* [*Kyôka* Musashi-region style], which is edited by his associate, Magao). It would therefore appear safe to assume Sanba was head of the firm during this period.

Thus, the Yorozyu Tajiemon of *Kyôka kei* Part I (namely Sanba) is not just of a different identity *in* Part II<sup>54</sup> but has changed identity *by* Part II, Sanba occupying headship of the house throughout the interim period (1803-6). *Kyôka kei* Part II of 1st month 1806 thus marks the departure of Sanba from the main bookshop. The phenomenon can also be seen mirrored in a later impression of *Kyôka musashiburi* giving extra weight to the supposition. Diet Library collection *Kyôka musashiburi* has Yorozyu Tajiemon of Yamashita-chô as the ~~sole~~ <sup>Sole</sup> publisher, but Metropolitan Library copy, otherwise of the same blocks, has the left-hand side of the colophon recarved to read Yorozyu Tajiemon of Yamashita-chô and

---

53. Nakano Mitsutoshi collection.

54. Tanahashi 1994, 32.

Yorozuya Tasuke of Yokkaichi. (Balance of script in Diet library copy, and lack of, in Metropolitan Library copy, would therein help to identify the first and later impression.)

[Figure 5A and B, p. 49]

The last example to fit the pattern of “splitting identity” is the previously mentioned *Shibai kinmô zui*. Reprinted by Kazusaya Chûsuke in 10th month 1806 using the same blocks, the recarved colophon attributes the 1803 impression to two names, Yorozuya Tajiemon of Yamashita-chô and Nishinomiya Tasuke of Honkoku-chô (further proof that the Yorozuya Tajiemon of 1803 is the same identity as Nishinomiya Tasuke [i.e. Sanba] of 1806).

In reverse extension, an image in *Pinto jô kokoro no aikagi* (Perfect fit: locksmith’s key to the heart), a *kibyôshi* by Sanba of 1802 depicts Nishinomiya Shinroku’s apparent annoyance at finding Sanba out on business from Yamashita-chô (the home of the Yorozuya publishing house) when he came to urge him for a *gesaku* piece. Also of 1802, *Wata onjaku kikô no hikifuda* (Cotton-wrapped hot coals: advert for their effect) includes an illustration of Sanba selling the hot coals outside the Yorozuya premises. In addition, the second of Sanba’s *gekisho*, *Yakusha sangai kyô*, of 1801, is the first of Sanba’s own works to be published from Yorozuya (in combination with Nishinomiya. No seals, however, have been found on any extant copy). It also stands out as the first non-*mono no hon* to appear from the publishing house of Yorozuya. From even earlier, then, we see Sanba in residence at, and exerting influence upon, the Yorozuya firm. [Figure 4A]

There was a great change in general in the nature of the works published by Yorozuya from 1800, as exemplified by changes (wood insertion and recarving: *horinaoshi/umeki*) in “Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” (Rankôdô [Yorozuya]’s copyright catalogue), found appended to many of its publications at this time.<sup>55</sup> The first “Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” (I have labelled 1), dated 11th month, Kansei 11 (1799), is incorporated into colophon of *Eifuji hyakushu waka*, Diet Library collection. It gives titles and other details of 4 *waka*-related works: *Manyôshû kachô*, *Kasane no iroai*, *Kana shûyô*, *Kaen kodai ruishô*; authors include the well-known Kokugakusha scholar, Kamo no Mabuchi.

An example of “Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” 2 can be found appended to *Eifuji hyakushu waka*, Kyushu University collection. The catalogue has been recarved onto a separate double sheet purely of advertisements and expanded. It is undated for long-term use.

55. For a full survey of the catalogue and the various changes it underwent, see **Appendix II**, p. 231. In order to fully understand Sanba’s contribution to publishing, authorship, and the relationship between the two, it is necessary to undertake an investigation which is not at first clearly connected with theatre works.



We see an increase in China-related works between these two editions of the catalogue, including two *wakokubon* (Japanese editions of Chinese works). The latest known publication among this second list is Shinratei Manzô's *Keirin manroku* of 6th month, Kansei 12 (1800); also, according to the *Wariin chô* (Book guild log) Yorozyua requests guild permission (*wariin*) for transcription of the *wakokubon*, *Keihan*, in 12th month of the same year.<sup>56</sup> Thus, this copyright catalogue must date from around this time. *Kyôka tôzaishû*, along with *Yakusha gakuya tsû*, forms a *kyôka* exchange between Sanba and Sandara Hôshi, and was originally published by Nishinomiya in 1799. Soon after, the blocks appear to have entered Yorozyua's possession. This would mark the first<sup>instance</sup> of Sanba's influence on the Yorozyua publishing business: not only is it Yorozyua's first non-serious literature publication, it is also one whose content Sanba had a hand in. In addition, it would seem that at this time Sanba intended to write a *yomihon*, "Sekibaku yawa", and a dictionary of colloquial sayings, "Zokugo benran" (though neither in fact appeared). Here we see a different image to the one of the *gesaku* writer which was publicly known.

The catalogue caters for various interests such as two texts on *shôgi* (chess), but most striking is the entrance into the copyright catalogue of twelve calligraphy copy-books, eight items of which are from the famous Sawada Tôkô's calligraphy series. These range from *Tôkô sensei showa* originally of Meiwa 6 (1769) which quickly established the Tôkô school's classic-type calligraphy throughout Edo, to *Tôkô sensei shohô zu* of Kansei 4 (1792) which explains the method with diagrams. Tôkô criticised the Ming style calligraphy popular in Edo at the time, and created a style reminiscent of that of the far older dynasties of Wu and Shin.<sup>57</sup> These blocks changed hands many times between publishers, so were obviously sought-after items.

In the *waka* catalogue of Kansei 11 (1799) we are yet to detect any Sanba-like influence on the business. Yet, the next year, *waka* is accompanied by *kyôka* (its comic popular form). The catalogue increases in size dramatically. In 1800, the fact that Sanba wrote nothing of his own is significant. Perhaps partially the result of the commotion surrounding the censorship of *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki* the previous year, the fact that overall the quantity of Sanba's work was low from 1800 to 1806 suggests not a prolonged effect from the punishment, but that he had, from around 1800, taken over control of the

56. Asakura ed., *Kyôhō igo Edo shuppan shomoku*, 348.

57. Nakano 2004, 207-212. Calligrapher as well as academic and *gesaku* writer, Sawada Tôkô's obscure origins have been pieced together by Nakano in *Kinsei shin kijin den*.

publishing house, Yorozya Tajiemon, from his father-in-law, and was busy compiling this large stock-list.

The Kansei 12 (1800) break in Sanba's writing output and low numbers thereafter have traditionally been attributed to the effect of the over-accounted and sensationalized incident of Sanba's 50-day handcuffing and temporary writing ban order, following an outburst by fire-fighters supposedly induced by his *kibyôshi*, *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki* (Spirited Chronicles of the Great Peace – in headbands).<sup>58</sup> Similarly, Hamada blames lack of original material in portions of *Shibai kinmô zui* to Sanba's "whiling away" 1802 once his drafts for a *setsuyôshû* -format *gekisho* had been nullified on the prior appearance in Osaka of *Shibai setsuyôshû*.<sup>59</sup> Now we know that these were crucial years career-wise for Sanba as a young head of a publishing house, and he had no time for extensive authorship.

The same image in *Pinto jômae kokoro no aikagi* of 1802 suggests some conflict between Sanba the *gesaku* writer and Sanba the "serious"-literature seller: Nishinomiya Shinroku displays annoyance at finding Sanba out on business from Yamashita-*chô* when he came to urge him for a *gesaku* piece, but is careful not to mention the name Yorozya in connection with Sanba the *gesaku* writer. This would seem to be a general tendency and one that has obscured knowledge to date of Sanba's real profession. [Figure 6, p. 57]

### Sanba and Horinoya Nihei

Sanba was apprenticed at the Horinoya Nihei publishing establishment from the age of 9 to 17. It is also documented that from 1804 Sanba offered aid to the widow of his previous apprentice post, Horinoya.<sup>60</sup> Repetition in several notes, written circa 1813 in the covers of books published by Horinoya during his time there as a youth, are evidence of the gratitude and obligation ("on") that Sanba continued to feel towards the Horinoya household.

We know from Sanba's own note that Horinoya Nihei had a son, therefore there was little chance of Sanba's inheriting that bookshop.<sup>61</sup> Bakin's account tells us that Sanba became an adopted son-in-law of Yorozya Tajiemon "during the Kansei period" (1788-

---

58. Honda 1973 and thereafter.

59. Hamada 1993, 220.

60. Sanba wrote to this effect in an inscription in a copy of *Tagasode nikki*, according to *Nihon shôsetsu nenpyô*, 142.

61. An example bearing Kikuchi Môhei (Sanba's real father)'s name next to Horinoya's (*Kokin shû waka jo* of 1797) gives more weight to Tanahashi's supposition that Môhei may have worked for the publisher Horinoya as a woodblock carver, and this was presumably the reason Sanba was initially apprenticed there.

1800),<sup>62</sup> and details of that period have become clearer through the previous section. Tanahashi alludes to the significance of the names Horinoya and Yorozuya appearing among five publishers of *Keirin manroku* of Kansei 12 (1800). However, the first we know of interaction between Horinoya and Yorozuya's is in fact through their combined publishing of *Manyôshû kachô* as early as Kansei 6 (1794), the year after he left Horinoya, and the year in which he produced his first work of *gesaku*.<sup>63</sup> Tanahashi has raised late Kansei (late 1790s) as a possible period for Sanba's entry into the Yorozuya household, but I consider the existence of *Manyôshû kachô* of Kansei 6 (1794) to be of pivotal significance.

In 1800 Yorozuya and Horinoya were both responsible for publishing *Keirin manroku* (as indicated in Tanahashi). Sanba tells us in a note that Horinoya Nihei I died in this year. Could *Keirin manroku*, then, mark the start of publishing careers for both Sanba (Yorozuya Tajiemon [II]) and Horinoya's son (Horinoya Nihei II)?

#### Comparison of Sanba's works with Yorozuya and Horinoya's publications<sup>64</sup>

Key: ■ Mono no hon (serious literature), ◆ Wakokubon, ◎ Yomihon, dangibon, ○ Hanashibon, ▽ Haikai, △ Kyôka, ☆ Gekisho, □ Sôshi rui (Ukiyozôshi; kibyôshi, gôkan [gesaku]), ◇ Sharehon, kokkeibon [gesaku]

Sanba's works	Yorozuya's publications	Horinoya's publications
<b>Kyôwa 1 (1801)</b> ☆ <u>Yakusha sangai kyô</u> □ Shikitei Sanba unubore kagami □ Nippon ichi ahô no kagami	☆ <u>Yakusha sangai kyô</u>	◆ Zentô shiwa ◆ Kanjô guki
<b>Kyôwa 2 (1802)</b> □ Pintojômae kokoro no aikagi ◇ Sentô shinwa □ Wata onjaku kikô no hikifuda □ Kusazôshi kojitsuke nendaiki		■ Heigi kidan ☆ Yakusha sanjû ni sô ◆ Shuchû shikei hyôkai ■ Saimeiki dōyô kô ■ Gunsho ichiran ■ Sôsho hōyô
<b>Kyôwa 3 (1803)</b> ☆ <u>Shibai kinmô zui</u> △ <u>Kyôka kei</u> ◇ <u>Mashin kigen</u>	☆ <u>Shibai kinmô zui</u> △ <u>Kyôka kei</u> ◇ <u>Mashin kigen</u>	◆ Kôko shitsugi ◆ Seisai shiwa ☆ Haiyû kei ◆ Tôon ◆ Shunshô saden hochû

62. *Iwademo no ki*. Kokusho kankokai 1913, 195.

63. "Chronological chart of Sanba's writing, with Yorozuya and Horinoya's publications" in Appendix I.

64. For 1801-1804 only. Full chart in Appendix I, p. 229.

		◆ Tsûzoku tôshikai ◆ Onekiron ruihen ■ Nensai miya suzume ■ Saihō hayatebiki
<b>Bunka 1 (1804)</b> □ Nadai no aburaya ◇ <u>Kyôgen kigyo</u> ■ <u>Kôtô ryakuzu</u>	△ Kyôka tsubana shû △ Kyôka musashi buri ◇ <u>Kyôgen kigyo</u> ■ <u>Kôtô ryakuzu</u>	○ Shôdô fukuju ◆ Shunshô shakurei ■ Kohôgan sanpô ◆ Renju shikaku ■ Kiyose shinshukô ◆ Ryôen kôshin gazô ■ Shiki shiori

If we take a combined view of Sanba's writing with Yorozyua and Horinoya's publishing activities in the chart above we can see that between 1801 and 1805 no new books were published by Yorozyua other than those from Sanba's brush (except for two *kyôka* anthologies compiled by Sanba's business acquaintance/friend, Magao). On the other hand, during this period we see Horinoya publish a spate of serious literature. He did this after joining the serious literature book guild, and it is significant that on the first occasion that his name appears in the duty list (*wariin gyôji*) in the 12th month of Kansei 12 (1800), it is with Yorozyua Tajiemon, who, according to the list, was a regular participator.<sup>65</sup> It would appear as if Horinoya II was making use of the position Sanba had gained in the serious literature publishing world, to change his own status to make his living.

Items of "serious literature" in question are all *wakokubon* and *kanban* offprints. *Wakokubon* are, in contrast to *tôhon* (books printed in China), Chinese works recarved and reprinted in Japan. From Kansei 12-Bunka 2 (1800-1805) Horinoya made numerous requests to the book guild for permission to reproduce Chinese books in Japanese format. Of the 13 he published, 5 were *kanban* offprints. *Kanban* were official books produced for samurai learning by the Shôheizaka gakumonjo, a library held by the Bakufu, and begun by Hayashi Razan. In order to make these books more widely available for Kangaku scholars, various titles' blocks were lent to commercial printers to produce later impressions. Publishers were chosen on application, and Horinoya appears among the 15 names identified as these selected publishers.<sup>66</sup> This was presumably an undertaking of some prestige. Not only that, the

65. *Wariin chô*, 346. *Wariin chô* (Asakura ed., *Kyôho igo Edo shuppan shomoku*) is an official record of the activities of the serious book guild in Edo. Records are extant from Hôreki to Bunka eras of requests made by certain publishers to publish works of serious literature, submitted at their manuscript stage. The guild met for this purpose on a monthly basis, and on each occasion 6-7 publishers sat on the board.

66. Fukui 1985, 112.

colophon of a late imprint (1803) of the *kanban*, *Kôko shitsugi*<sup>67</sup> has a red seal under Horinoya's name which reads "seihon ryôgyô" (official place of book production). Horinoya, then, occupied a prominent position within this organization. Here we see a previously unseen side to Horinoya that has not yet been considered in relation to Sanba's biography.

Horinoya sought permission to transcribe the Chinese book, *Kanjô guki* (Casual expressions of idle pursuits), and published it in the 12th month of Kyôwa 1 (1801). This *wakokubon* is a section from the essay collection of the same name by Ri Ryû (Li Yu – Ming playwright and essayist, 1611-1680), which in turn constitutes volume 6 of the anthology, *Ryû ikkagen zenshû* (Independent works by Li Yu).<sup>68</sup> Horinoya's *Kanjô guki* would appear to be the only *wakokubon* originating from *Ryû ikkagen zenshû*. Although the frontispiece of the *wakokubon* states the copyright belonged to the annotator, Nange Shujin, the whereabouts of the original *tôhon* (Chinese book) is not made clear. Interestingly, on the first page of the main text of a *kibyôshi* by Sanba's pupil, Fukutei Sanshō, *Kahô wa ne monogatari* (Tale of waiting for fortune) of Kyôwa 3 (1803), Toyohiro's illustration shows Sanba at a desk laughing with Sanshō, while a serving boy is pictured carrying tea up the stairs.<sup>69</sup> Sanba is seen sitting with book cabinets behind him, marked with "Ryû ikkagen" as well as other Chinese drama essays. There is no reason to believe that Toyohiro did not create a faithful representation of Sanba's study, and that such Chinese books were not on his shelves - we remember that this scene depicts not only Sanba's studio, but also the Yorozyua premises. The Yorozyua house had published its own *wakokubon* in 1800, and such titles do not look out of place in its possession.<sup>70</sup> **[Figure 7]**

Sanba, we know, had a keen sense of business. The previously-mentioned *kibyôshi*, *Pinto jô kokoro no aikagi*, of 1802, depicts Nishinomiya Shinroku's annoyance at finding Sanba out "on business" from Yamashita-chô (i.e. the Yorozyua residence). "On business" additionally could be interpreted as lending a helping hand at, or working on behalf of, Horinoya's.

---

67. Kariya City (Aichi) Central Library collection.

68. Identified in *tôhon* of Kyushu University Faculty of Literature Library collection.

69. This illustration has been introduced by Tanahashi to indicate that Sanba occupied the first-floor at Yorozyua's [presumably the location of the writing studio, "Tarari rô", which frequently precedes Sanba's signature in prefaces and postscripts from 1798] (Tanahashi 1994, 21). The serving boy also tells the reader that *Shibai kimmô zui* is now available for purchase.

70. "Shôhakusairai shomoku" indicates that copies of *Ryû ikkagen* entered Japan on several occasions from the Kyôho era (Oba 1967).



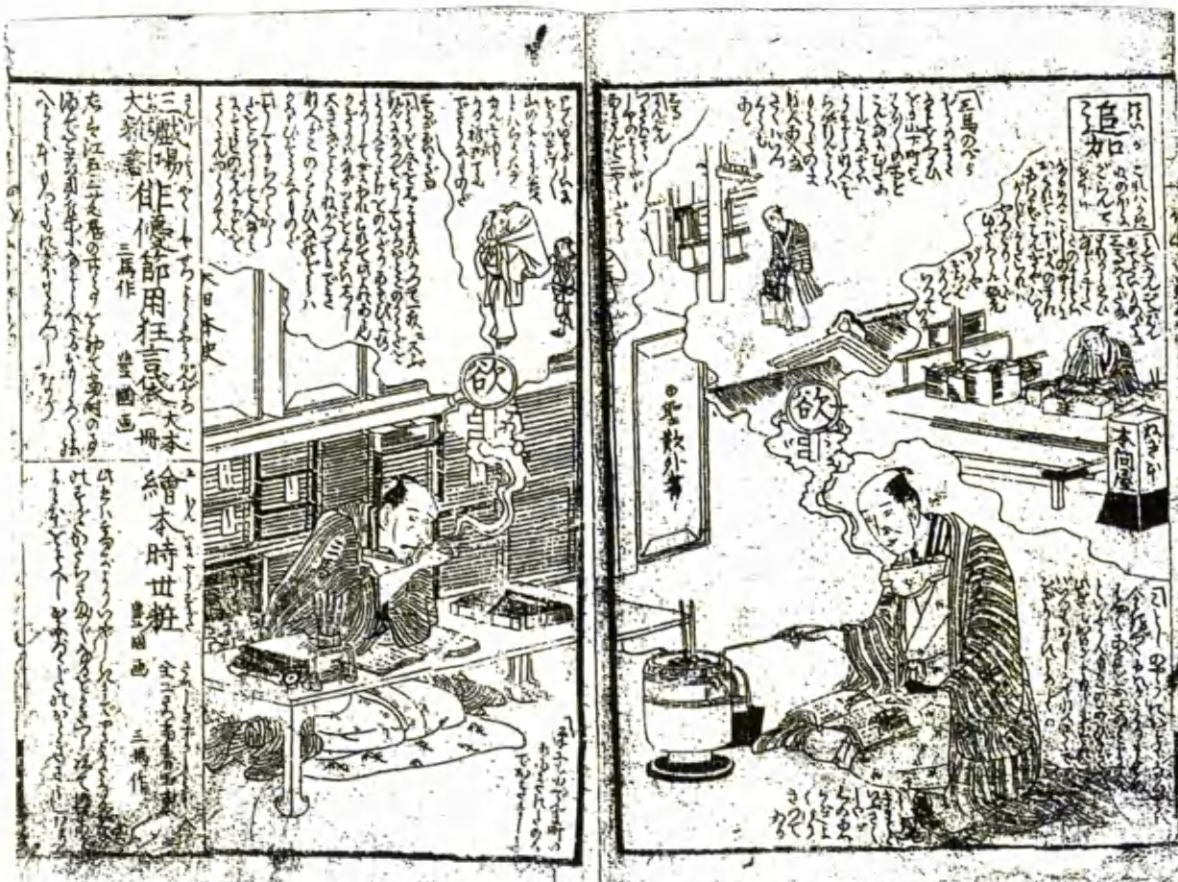


Figure 6. *Pinto jōmae kokoro no aikagi*. 1804. Kyushu Univ. Faculty of Lit. Library. 14-15chō.



Figure 7. *Kahō wa ne monogatari*. 1803. British Library. 1-2chō.

During this period (Kansei 12-Bunka 2, 1800-1805) there are very few new publications that I have identified as emanating from Yorozyu except for some by Sanba. Yorozyu was kept buoyant by the large back-stock catalogue, “Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku”. Incidentally, changes were made to the catalogue<sup>71</sup> which included the appearance of *Kyôka kei* Parts I and II in the place of the never-to-appear *yomihon* and dictionary by Sanba. The catalogue changes most likely, then, occurred shortly before Bunka 3 (1806). Another alteration made was *Heigi kidan*’s replacing of *Keirin manroku*. *Heigi kidan* was originally published by Horinoya in Kyôwa 2 (1802), signifying yet another Horinoya/Yorozyu tactical exchange initiated by Sanba.

During Bunka 2 (1805) Sanba’s wife died and his headship of Yorozyu ended,<sup>72</sup> as noticeably do Horinoya’s flourishing *wakokubon* publishing activities. I conclude from the above that from 1800-1805 Yorozyu, under Sanba’s management, maintained the bookshop Horinoya out of duty to Sanba’s former master’s family. Support, therefore, was not only monetary,<sup>73</sup> but extended to business plans and their execution for the young Horinoya son.

Kanai, by putting together a similar publication list for Horinoya Nihei, has recently attributed the wealth of activity seen in the Horinoya publishing business to the instigation of the competent Nihei II.<sup>74</sup> The whole picture, however, can only be understood, I have shown, by looking also at Yorozyu’s publications and Sanba’s production for the same period. I have gathered evidence which suggests, in contrast, Nihei’s *incompetence*, as Sanba’s shadow is visible all along the way.

Kanai also judges Horinoya as an insignificant publisher if it hadn’t been for Sanba’s involvement in its history.<sup>75</sup> However, it was precisely, it would seem, Horinoya’s success in the *hanashibon* and *sharehon* world that drew Sanba to the establishment (in his own copies, Sanba constantly reveres the works that Horinoya published before his own birth).

We saw that Horinoya produced the *wakokubon*, partial *Kanjô guki*, in 1801. The larger (*tôhon*: Chinese publication) *Kanjô guki* contains essays on a range of diverse subjects. It is perhaps significant that the parts of Chinese *Kanjô guki* chosen for Japan-based carving and publication through Horinoya are the two more serious sections out of the 8, namely

---

71. “Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” 3 in **Appendix II**.

72. Preface to *Kejô suigen maku no soto* tells of his remorse sitting in the backroom of a tenement building.

73. Tanahashi 1994, 31.

74. Kanai 2004, 5.

75. Ibid.

essays on “Houses and gardens” and “Furniture”, which propose frugal living. From “Houses and gardens”: “After *Casual Expressions* comes out, he [Li Yu] claims, nothing will ever be thrown away again”.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps therein lay a lesson to the Horinoya son.

### Sanba and publication of *gekisho* and *kyôka*

From the time of *Kyôka kei* Part I onwards, as is clear from the catalogue of *kyôka* collections listed at the back of a later-impression *Kyôka kei* (as well as from each’s colophon), *Kyôka Tsubana shû*, *Sumire shû*, *Fukusô shû*, *Shinsô shû*, *Musashiburi* etc., that is, almost all of Magao’s *kyôka* collections of post 1803, were published by Yorozyua (alias Sanba). After Sanba’s departure they continued to be published from Yorozyua, or continued to be published by Sanba under the name of Yorozyua Tasuke, and later under Nishinomiya Tasuke.<sup>77</sup> What Sanba offered Magao, then, in return for sale-boosting prefaces and postscripts sought from Magao on neighbourhood visits, was the opportunity for the publishing of his *kyôka* books; in other words, Sanba was using his *kyôka* associations to fuel his own business.

We can, then, conclude that Sanba had a hand in the creation of the majority of *kyôka* collections at this time, in the role of *kyôka* composer, editor, or publisher, or a combination of these. This included producing them in innovative formats within the *gekisho* genre.

I have already remarked how in the colophons of *Yakusha sangai kyô* and *Shibai kinmô zui* where the names Yorozyua Tajiemon and Nishinomiya Shinroku appear next to each other, we can sense some sort of affiliation between the worlds of *shomotsu donya* (member of the guild of serious book publishers, represented by Yorozyua Tajiemon) and *jihon donya* (guild of *kusazôshi* publishers, Nishinomiya Shinroku). This can be explained because we now know that behind the guise are really Sanba and his old friend, Nishinomiya. Originally a publishing house of serious literature (*mono no hon*), Yorozyua does not, however, publish Sanba’s other *gesaku* writing (*kibyôshi*, *sharehon* etc.). The Jôruri *shôhon* publisher and *ukiyozôshi* writer of early Edo, Nishizawa Ippû, discussed by Ichiko Natsuo,<sup>78</sup> never published his own works: he must have held contracts with other publishers. Sanba evidently held similar deals with the likes of Nishinomiya Shinroku and Izumiya Ichibei as regards his *kibyôshi* and *gôkan*; the works of his own he managed to publish through his Yorozyua establishment were miscellaneous items such as *Kôtô ryakuzu* (an Imperial

76. Trans. Hanan 1988, 74.

77. Publications listed in **Appendix I**.

78. Nakano 1996, 2-3.



genealogy), *Mashin kigen* and *Kyôgen kigyo* (unconventional *gesaku* pieces, sometimes included under the umbrella-term of *kokkeibon*), and the ubiquitous *gekisho* and *kyôka*. Thus, we can detect Sanba's efforts to raise *gekisho* along with *kyôka* books into the realm of *mono no hon* ("serious" literature) in having then published by Yorozyua.

Another example of the apparent reconciliation of *gekisho* with *mono no hon* can be seen most contrastingly in Horinoya's list of publications for the Kyôwa period (1801-1803). Titles of *kanban* offprints and *wakokubon* are strangely interspersed with the previously-mentioned *gekisho*, *Yakusha sanjûni sô* and *Haiyû kei*. The identity of the author of these two, a certain Hon-chô Tôshi Shôkyaku, whose name merely means "Edoite recluse of Hon-chô district," remains unknown. Sanba only moved to his medicine shop in Hon-chô in 1810<sup>79</sup> and was during 1802-3 a member of the Yorozyua household in Yamashita-chô.<sup>80</sup> In fact, no identifiable writer of this genre was resident in Hon-chô (district near Nihonbashi) circa 1802-3.

In 1801 and 1803, then, Sanba wrote two theatre-related works (*Yakusha sangai kyô* and *Shibai kinmô zui*) to benefit the publishing house and his place of marital adoption, Yorozyua Tajiemon. We see this gesture almost mirrored by a certain Tôshi Shôkyaku who wrote *Yakusha sanjûni sô* and *Haiyû kei* in 1802 and 1803 for Horinoya's business. I believe the Hon-chô address, then, could well have been a decoy;<sup>81</sup> Sanba<sup>82</sup> in disguise - as the whole of Sanba relationship at this time with his childhood apprenticeship-post, Horinoya, would seem to have been (we only learn about this feeling of obligation towards Horinoya in reminiscences written several years later once he had left Yorozyua). The Yorozyua house was a well-established *mono no honya* ("serious" book publisher) and *shomotsu donya* ("serious" book guild member), and as such, Sanba could not be seen officially to be helping a lesser concern.

Furthermore, *Haiyû kei* appeared in spring 1803 at the same time as *Kyôka kei* (Sanba ed.), shares the same unusual "kei" (key / guide) in its title, "literally a pointed ivory utensil used to untie a knot,"<sup>83</sup> and has a similar overall format. Even if not ultimately by Sanba, his

---

79. *Shikitei Zakki*

80. Clues are posed by *kibyôshi*, *Wata onjaku kikônohikifuda* and *Pinto jômae kokorono aikagi*. [Figure 6]

81. "Hon- chô" can also be used to refer to "The district we all know about".

82. Bakin's praise in the preface of *Sanjûni sô* for the author - that is Sanba - might grate a little. However, the famous animosity between Sanba and Bakin did not emerge until later. In what appears to be an early inscription in a book, Sanba refers to his "friend, Kyokutei Bakin" (Tanahashi 1994, 89).

83. Iwasaki 1984, 332. "Kei" 鯛 is first seen in *Keisei kei* (Guide to courtesans) by Kyôden of 1788. The distinctive style of *Keisei kei* relies on Tôkô school calligraphic trend (Nakano 2004, 241), which can be seen consciously continued in *Kyôka kei* and *Haiyû kei*.

hand in *Haiyû kei* (and *Yakusha Sanjûnisô*)'s publication as an aide to Horinoya is undeniable.

Sanba, then, played a central role in the trend of *gekisho* from late Kansei (1799 onwards), pioneering the format of actor prints with accompanying *kyôka* within the genre of *gekisho*. For Sanba, *kyôka* and the theatre were closely related from the outset due to his acquaintance with Enba and his Mimasuren.

By comparing the publications of Yorozyua and Horinoya, each of their relationships with Sanba has become clearer. In addition, the scale of Sanba's own publishing activities has become more fully understood. The publisher of "serious" literature, Yorozyua, with Sanba's influence, began to publish *gekisho* and *kyôka*. Meanwhile, it is noticeable that the once *kohon* (small book) *hanashibon* publisher, Horinoya, during the same period, changed to deal mainly in "serious" books. However, in the Kyôwa period (1801-3), both have published *gekisho*. Also the apparent friction between the worlds of the *jihonya*, Nishinomiya Shinroku and the *mono no honya*, Yorozyua Tajiemon, as described in *Pinto jô kokoro no aikagi*, finds reconciliation in *gekisho* of the surrounding years: Sanba's *Yakusha sangai kyô* and *Shibai kinmô zui* are marketed jointly by Nishinomiya and Yorozyua. In fact, although prefaces describe Nishinomiya taking the initiative in publishing each time, Nishinomiya and Yorozyua swap position in the colophons of *Yakusha sangai kyô* and *Shibai kinmô zui*. By the time of *Shibai kinmô zui* Yorozyua has taken the main role and is stamped as the production centre. This change in "status" of *gekisho* and *kyôka* was therefore initiated by Sanba himself.

Could the individual under the name of "Yorozyua Tajiemon" recorded in *Wariin chô* as participating on the board of serious book publishers at this time have been Sanba in person? The evidence I have presented so far vis à vis his publishing activities suggests as much. This proposition is a significant one when considering Sanba's dual roles and careers as *gesaku* writer and serious publisher. In which case, we find Sanba's attempts were both creative and administrative in closing the gap between the worlds of *mono no hon* and *gesaku*, "elegant" and "vulgar" literature. The "gazoku yûwa" (harmony of elegant and vulgar) described by Nakano as epitomizing the mid-Edo period,<sup>84</sup> here we find extending to publishing activities.

---

84. Nakano 1999, 2-19.

### An hypothesis to explain the turn of events of the 1st month, Bunka 3 (1806)

Yorozuya's publication of *Shimi no sumika monogatari* in Bunka 2 (1805) jointly with Eirakuya Tōshirō of Nagoya and Kawachiya Tasuke of Osaka must too be a Sanba initiative. These two publishers are also found on the colophons of *Shibai kinmō zui* and *Kyōka kei* of 1803. The arrangement between these members does not continue with Yorozuya after Sanba's departure, yet both can be seen marketing many late impressions of Sanba's works in Osaka and Nagoya. It was evidently a deal struck with Sanba personally. We can safely say Sanba was Yorozuya Tajiemon in 1805. Sanba received publishing permission (*wari-in*) for *Kyōka kei* Part II as late as 12th month 1805 under the name of Yorozuya Tajiemon. He writes near the beginning that the preparation had got delayed, and he was rushing to meet the New Year publication deadline.

It would seem that Sanba had had to de-camp to Enba's for the New Year, 1806: *Edo kishō* (Jolly laughs of Edo), a *hanashibon* for which Sanba wrote a preface indicates he is writing at Enba's Mikawayaya studio in Ryōgoku on the 1st day of the New Year. Incidentally, in a later-impression, re-titled version (*kaidaibon*) of this work called *Egao hajime* (Smiles come first), Sanba replaced the preface with one dated 1808 which makes no mention of the topical events of New Year, 1806.

The Yorozuya Tajiemon establishment stopped marketing Sanba's *kokkeibon*, *Kyōgen kigyō* of 1804 – all copies I have examined have had the name Yorozuya Tajiemon uniformly blacked out.<sup>85</sup> In the preface of *Kejō suigen maku no soto* he describes himself as “bound by duty to take the blame, though sinless”, sitting in a musty, backroom tenement in spring, 1806. This must mean that he had had to agree to leave his comfortable situation at Yorozuya.

There are various accounts by Sanba describing his relationship with Horinoya Nihei; none, however, about his time at Yorozuya's. Very little evidence exists tying Sanba directly to Yorozuya Tajiemon. We know from Bakin's aptly-named *Iwademo no ki* (Record of things best left unsaid) of 1819, that he married into the publishing house,<sup>86</sup> but nothing more about his actual activities once installed there. Tanahashi's noticing of Sanba's seal under the name Yorozuya Tajiemon in *Kyōka kei* Part I was the breakthrough needed, and I have found further evidence.

---

85. Diet Library, Hōsa Bunko, and Tokyo University Kokubun kenkyūshitsu copies.

86. Kokusho Kankōkai ed. 1913, 195.

A book survives from Sanba's early collection: a Hôreki 3 (1753) impression of the purported first *sharehon*, *Seki fujin den* by Deirôshi, published in Edo by Yorozuya Hikohachi, Kawamura Zenroku and Osakaya Hidehachi.<sup>87</sup> An inscription by Sanba on the last page, reads, "Picked up at a second-hand bookshop during the Kansei era, and added to the Shikitei Collection". Indeed the front of the second volume bears the seal found in *Shibai kinmô zui* and *Kyôka kei*, identifying it as Sanba's personal one [Figure 2C, p. 47], which reads, "Tôbu Sukiya bashi minami no ie ni ari" (In residence at South Sukiya bridge, Eastern capital). The fact that this book survived the 1806 fire tells us that it was no longer in his possession by that date. Furthermore, the page bearing the inscription is half-missing. It has been cut, not torn, as if done deliberately. We can tell the inscription continued because there are tiny hints remaining of the edges of characters written in the same ink. Could Sanba have written something that he later decided should not be publicised?

The publisher Yorozuya Hikohachi is of interest. During the Hôreki era (1751-71) there were several Yorozuya-group booksellers (booksellers bearing the surname Yorozuya). Both Hikohachi and Tajiemon began their activities in Hôreki 3 (1753). However, by the end of Hôreki, Yorozuya Tajiemon has emerged as the sole Yorozuya and remains so until well into the 19th century.<sup>88</sup> Could Hikohachi then be Tajiemon's business predecessor? Sanba, presumably writing in Kyôwa or Bunka whilst still at Yorozuya, tells us in the inscription that he purchased the book a few years earlier. We can imagine that he might have continued to write something about the book printed by an earlier Yorozuya-group publisher, who quite possibly had family/business ties with Tajiemon, and perhaps about Tajiemon (Sanba's father-in-law) himself (in the way that Sanba does in so many items from his collection, including works published by Horinoya Nihei).

Sanba most probably removed the offending part of the inscription and disposed of the book on his upheaval from Yorozuya in early Bunka 3, 1806 (in anger at his dismissal?) as it was associated with that household, thus it was spared the fire at his own premises 3 months later.

Sanba appeared to want to leave us no information about his time at Yorozuya, or even that he was ever there. Bakin let the fact slip posthumously in *Iwademo no ki*. Contrastingly, we hear many praises of Horinoya and testimonies to his apprenticeship there, written in later Bunka era. Yet by Bunka 13 (1816) relations with the Yorozuya Tajiemon

---

87. Cambridge University Library collection.

88. *Kinsei shorin hanmoto sôran* 672-3.

household seem to have been patched up. Exactly 10 years after *Kyôka kei* Part II was published, *Haikaika kei* (Key to haikaika) appears from Yorozuya. We do not know who took over when Sanba left in 1806 and whether the headship reverted back to the father; 10 years on could easily have produced a new, more sympathetic owner.

We can detect a certain amount of antagonism on Sanba's part on his forced withdrawal from the Yorozuya Tajiemon business, which he had sustained with a few of his own publications and consistent business acumen. We should remember the several years when Yorozuya was kept solvent only by the "Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku" (backlist catalogue), while Horinoya basked in the glory of success with its *wakokubon* and *kanban*. Perhaps Sanba was accused of neglect, and by extension, somehow blamed for the death of his wife. Sanba's preface to *Kejô suigen maku no soto* suggests remorse. It is significant that Sanba's aid to Horinoya ceased, and Horinoya's Honkoku-chô business went under, upon the departure of Sanba from the Yorozuya Tajiemon house.

### **Yorozuya Tasuke**

*Edo hô kaku wake* records "Yorozuya Tasuke" as Sanba's tradename, but gives no dates.<sup>89</sup> During the years 1803-4, it would appear that Sanba intended to continue as the head of the Yorozuya bookshop. However, due to his wife's death in late 1805, he was obliged to leave his position of adopted son-in-law. Early in 1806 he opened up an independent bookshop as Yorozuya Tasuke and the later impression *Kyôka musashiburi*'s colophon identifies the tradename with the premises in Yokkaichi.

*Gesaku rokkasen* describes this as an old-book store in Yokkaichi, however I found *kyôka* collections purported to have been published by Yorozuya Tasuke, namely *Kyôka nanboku shû* (*Kyôka* collection of north and south) and *Kyôka musashiburi* Part II (or *Kyôka zoku musashiburi*),<sup>90</sup> so it seemed he also handled new publications. I also discovered a certain copy of the "Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku" (Yorozuya's backlist catalogue) which has Sanba's Yokkaichi address recarved into the block.<sup>91</sup> This suggests the block rights were originally his and left with him, and that the items listed on it were marketed by him in Yokkaichi from the 1st-3rd months of 1806. The existence of another, completely new edition of Rankôdô catalogue indicates the blocks returned to the main firm of Yorozuya

---

89. Nakano 1977, 87.

90. *Kyôka shomoku shûsei*, 47.

91. Appended to *Tôkô sensei sôsho senjimon*, Nakano Mitsutoshi collection.

Tajiemon later in the Bunka era,<sup>92</sup> and that they somehow escaped the fire which destroyed Sanba's business on 3rd of the 3rd month.

The copy of *Kyôka musashiburi* Part I, edited by Utagaki Magao, in Diet Library is a first printing, dated 1804, and has the name Yorozuya Tajiemon in the colophon. Tokyo Metropolitan Library copy is identical, except that the name has been recarved to include the name Yorozuya Tasuke next to that of Tajiemon, and in the more prominent position. My thesis has already shown that around 1804, Sanba's real profession, through marriage ties, was as book publisher, Yorozuya Tajiemon. We also know that Sanba later called himself Tasuke (which, in fact, is his real first-name from birth). I was fairly certain that the Metropolitan Library's *Kyôka musashiburi* Part I was a copy printed later as a set with Part II of the poem collection, however I was unable to find a copy of Part II in any library. Its existence was only known from Yorozuya's own backlist catalogue. [Figure 5A and B, p. 49]

I recently came across by chance a copy of *Kyôka musashiburi* Part II in Tenri University Library, though it is not listed in any modern catalogue. The same colophon is used again; the only difference in the colophon of Metropolitan Part I and Tenri Part II is that the date, Kyôwa 4 (1804), has been removed (and replaced with clear wood: *umeki*) in the Part II, so perhaps Metropolitan Part I and Tenri Part II are not quite of set status (*Musashiburi* Part I appears in the backlist catalogue, so could have been printed out on request at any time; colophon details, however, limit Metropolitan copy to around New Year 1806 - Part II is dated at the end of the main text as spring of that year). [Figure 5C]

I was sure that Part II would more than likely provide me with information about Sanba's publishing activities for the period we know little about: this it has. The Tenri copy is dated New Year 1806, and also has both publishers' names, Tajiemon and Tasuke, of Yamashita-chô and Yokkaichi respectively. We now know this is when Sanba must have left the main publishing house and called himself Yorozuya Tasuke. The preface by the poet, Shinratei Manzô, refers to "Rei no Hôrandô no arushi" (Master of Hôrandô whom we all know),<sup>93</sup> who had, upon hearing of the new poem collection edited by Utagaki Magao, asked to put it to the printing blocks. There is also a note from "Yorozuya Tasuke of

---

92. "Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku" 4 in Appendix II.

93. Sanba often refers in his prefaces to his own favourite publisher, Nishinomiya Shinroku, as "Rei no shorin" (That publisher we all know) as in *Yakusha sangai kyô*, or some such phrase to humorously complain about his demands. Here we can sense a jovial retaliation by Sanba's friend, Manzô, in alluding to Sanba himself in his own capacity as the greedy publisher.

Hôrandô” at the end of the book scouting for publishing work of poem collections (culminating in the actually published *Kyôka nanboku shû* edited by Koromo no Kishû). From this we can assert that Sanba continued activities as a poem-book publisher into 1806 under the shop-name of Hôrandô; information not, to my knowledge, recorded elsewhere or mentioned in any study of Sanba to date. It seems possible that Tenri University’s extant copy of *Musashiburi* Part II is the only place where such details are mentioned. Thus its discovery provides new facts which help in collating Sanba’s biography. [Figure 5D]

Thus we see Sanba’s premises take the equally fragrant name of Hôrandô, as opposed to Rankôdô (the characters *hō* and *kō*<sup>94</sup> both mean “fragrance”, and *ran*, “orchid”, is common to both; *dō* is the usual “hall”), and Sanba intend to continue, not as an old-book store as many accounts old and new have it, but as a fully-fledged publishing house.

Discovery, then, of a copy of the elusive *Kyôka musashiburi* Part II has revealed that Sanba swiftly created an independent premises and concern under the name of Hôrandô in early 1806 (on his obligatory departure from Rankôdô), which failed only through the intervention of fire.

### Nishinomiya Tasuke

Sanba’s premises in Yokkaichi - that we now know went under the name of Hôrandô - burnt down after just 3 months. For a while after the event several prefaces tell us how he made a tour of Shimosa (the furthest he ever travelled from Edo). He returns and sets up residence in Honkoku-chô 4 chôme where he goes by the business name of Nishinomiya Tasuke. Sanba styled himself Nishinomiya Tasuke, “due to his friendship with the publisher [Nishinomiya Shinroku]”.<sup>95</sup> The earliest instance I have identified of Sanba’s use of this name is in the colophon of the 10th month, Bunka 3 (1806) impression of *Shibai kinmô zui*, which refers to Nishinomiya Tasuke residing at Honkoku-chô 4 chôme. A few colophons can be found bearing this name: a further volume in Bunka 4 (1807) in the series of *Kyôka musashiburi* by Magao,<sup>96</sup> indicating there was a continuation of the transaction between *kyôka* poet, Magao and publisher, Sanba. Another is a later printing of *Shinzoku kibun*, originally published by Horinoya Nihei in Kansei 11 (1799). Sanba appears to engage in a few publishing activities while his main occupation turns to the writing of *gesaku*. In other

---

94. 芳・香

95. *Gesaku rokkasen*, 381.

96. *Kyôka shomoku shûsei*, 49.

words, Sanba's career in *gesaku* writing was affected directly by his removal from the Yorozyua post combined with the devastating fire at the new Hôrandô premises 3 months later.

The name Nishinomiya Tasuke also appears to the left of Nishimura Genroku and Nishinomiya Shinroku on the colophon of Sanba's *kokkeibon*, *Hayakawari mune no karakuri* (Mechanism for quick changes of the heart) of Bunka 7 (1810). Tanahashi suggests that Sanba involved himself in the publishing process of his book so that no trouble was spared in carefully producing the many pop-up sections, which were its selling point.<sup>97</sup> Again, we can see Sanba's practical expertise at work.

Sanba's diary tells us that at the end of 1810 he moves to Hon-chô 2 chôme, and becomes the Eastern outlet for a Kyoto brand of "longevity pills". A series entitled "Shuppan dokoro no imamukashi" (Places of publishing then and now) appeared in the early Shôwa journal, *Shomotsu tenbô*. It reproduced Kuniteru's print of Sanba's Hon-chô premises, and adds the caption,

Shikitei Sanba was at the same time a writer and a publisher... Moving to Hon-chô 2 chôme he made his mark with the marketing of 'longevity pills' and toilet water called 'Edo no mizu', alongside the publishing of 'serious' literature<sup>98</sup>

suggesting that Sanba continued publishing activities in addition to the medicine business he started up after moving to Hon-chô in 1810. Although the source is unclear for this and so far I have found no books bearing a colophon of Nishinomiya Tasuke at this address, the simple fact of Sanba's real profession of "serious" book publisher seems to have still been common knowledge in the early 20th century, but which has been lost with the passage of time.

However, book publishing could well have provided Sanba with a steady stream of income during this period too. Suzuki Toshiyuki, remarking that some bookshops sold medicine as well, "If you consider that these bookshops started out as general dealers (*gyôsha*), it does not seem so extraordinary".<sup>99</sup> We have no evidence that Sanba's medicine business in Hon-chô too was not primarily a bookshop. Sanba perhaps does not mention the fact in his diary because at that time it went without saying.

---

97. Tanahashi 1994, 224.

98. Issue 2:1, 1932

99. Nakano 1996, 18-19.



### “Tsutajû of Yamashita-chô” / “Hachimonjiya of Edo”

I have shown Sanba to illustrate clearly the concept of a publisher (*hanmoto*) in late Edo fulfilling the multiple roles of author, producer and business manager, a status discussed tentatively by Nakano in relation to Tsutaya Jûsaborô.<sup>100</sup>

Similarities between Sanba and Tsutaya Jûsaborô are striking. Tsutajû (as he was known) was publisher of the *kibyôshi* and *sharehon* of the most eminent *gesaku* writers, and had almost a monopoly on Tenmei period (1780s) *kyôka*. Suzuki remarks upon Tsutajû's networking skills: he created a personal friendship with the figurehead, Ota Nanpo, and secured a place in the *kyôka* clique early on as a composer himself.<sup>101</sup> We have seen Sanba making similar pursuits in late Kansei/Kyôwa period for the Yorozyua publishing house. And by Kyôwa/Bunka it is Yorozyua Tajiemon (alias Sanba) who has taken over the position of *kyôka* publishing monopoly, at least regards the then head of Nanpo's Yomo no ren *kyôka* group, Utagaki Magao. The 4 *kyôka* collections which ran advertisements for *Kyôka kei* were all published by Tsutajû, suggesting at that point (1787) that he was proposing to publish it. Sanba (in other words, Yorozyua under Sanba's influence) took over from Tsutajû.

Tsutajû himself experienced the effects of the Kansei Reforms upon *gesaku* publication with the censorship of Kyôden's *sharehon*, on the other hand he sensed a good climate for trading in “serious” literature henceforth. In Kansei 3 (1791) we know from *Wariin chô*, the guild's log, he joined the *shomotsu donya nakama* (“serious” book guild), in the 3rd month requesting permission for a publication, and by the 10th-12th months, carrying out administrative duties.<sup>102</sup> I have shown that it was at least under Sanba's guidance that the Horinoya Nihei firm joined the guild in Kansei 11 (1799) and turned to the publishing of *wakokubon* and *kanban*.

In the debate over what is a “hangiya” (block carver) opposed to a “hanmoto” (publisher), Nakano concludes that it was a matter of which activity was carried out in the main: book production or distribution.<sup>103</sup> This helps in understanding Sanba's apparent juggling of *gesaku* authorship, serious literature bookbinding (*seihon jo*), bookselling, and, later on, medicine sales. Each of these took main stage during different periods of Sanba's career. (For example, we know that *gesaku* authorship waned during the years at the

---

100. Ibid., 2.

101. Suzuki 1998, 7-9.

102. Ibid., 234.

103. Nakano 1996, 3.

bookbinding establishment of Yorozuya). Bookselling, though, would appear to have continued steadily throughout (Sanba's original "profession").

In the same way, Sanba engaged in far more authorship than his fellow "all-rounder", Tsutajû, so is remembered as a *gesaku* writer rather than the astute businessman which, alongside Tsutajû, he evidently was.

Bunka 5 (1808), Tsutajû and Nishimura Yohachi were acting as both *mono no hon* and *jihon* publishers, and *jihon*'s appearance in the serious book guild records (*Wariin chô*) for this year show that *jihon* were borrowing the *mono no hon* pipeline.<sup>104</sup> However we saw that Sanba, whilst in the guise of Yorozuya and pulling the ropes of Horinoya, was already making use of this pipeline as early as Kansei 12 (1800).

Hachimonjiya Jishô (d.1745), an *ukiyozôshi* writer and a publisher, was born in Kyoto, the son of the Kyoto publisher Hachimonjiya Hachiemon.

*Yakusha sangai kyô* was the first work of Sanba's brush to be published from Yorozuya, and, Yorozuya here almost certainly means Sanba himself. Sanba, then, does not just strive to imitate Hachimonjiya in writing style as suggested by "Hachimonja no kuchô o maneite" ("to copy Hachimonja's phraseology") in the preface to *Yakusha gakuya tsû*, or "Hachimonja ryû ni" ("in the style of Hachimonja") in *Yakusha sangai kyô*.<sup>105</sup> Emulation of his idol, Hachimonjiya, extends to publishing activities, as seen in his writing and publishing of the same work, including *gekisho*, and the monopoly of the whole book production process – not widely seen elsewhere.

One contemporary example I have found of the combination of profession is the Osaka actor print artist, Asayama Ashikuni of Andôdera-machi, studio name Kyôkakudô, active around 1801-20, who seems to have been the same individual as one Nunoya Chûsaborô, publisher of *yomihon* and *e-iri nehon*.<sup>106</sup> Where Ashikuni has sought permission for his illustrated work to be published, the *Wariinchô* documents his name as Nunoya Chûsaborô. The same source reveals one Nunoya Chûsaborô to be an active publisher during the same period and of the same address. Ashikuni's real profession, then, was as head of a publishing house. In the *yomihon*, *Abura uri* (The oil-seller) of Bunka 13 (1816), he appears

---

104. Suzuki 2003 [b], 97-98.

105. In later generations, Hachimonjiya refers predominantly to Hachimonjiya Hachiemon, the publisher, and Hachimonja, to the house-writer, Hachimonja Jishô, although there would often seem to be no clear differentiation.

106. Cross 1999, 1-2.

twice on the same colophon: once as Asayama Ashikuni, the illustrator, and again as Nunoya Chûsaborô, the publisher, indicating he also published works that he himself had illustrated.<sup>107</sup>

Writer/artist-cum-publisher was, it would seem, not an openly advertised, nor particularly desirable status for the likes of Sanba and Ashikuni, presumably due to the fact it caused hierarchical difficulties within the book-production process. Indeed, Hachimonjiya's house authorship, however, is now known to have been nominal after the second generation, thereafter employing ghost-writers such as Ejima Kiseki and, upon his death in 1735, Tada Nanrei. At the insistence of Kiseki, his own name began to appear occasionally next to Jishô's. Nanrei's identity, however, is divulged only in a preface to another work.<sup>108</sup> The writer-cum-publisher image thus endured, so it is difficult to ascertain how widely known the fact was in Edo several decades later. Nevertheless, Sanba put into practice the dual roles.

With this new information brought to the fore concerning his career, Sanba could during this period (1800-1806) perhaps be called the Hachimonjiya of Edo. By late Kansei even the continuing Hachimonjiya Hachimon/Jishô establishment appeared to be emulating Sanba: *Yakusha hyakunin isshu yoso-oi kagami* of 1800 took on a similar style to *Yakusha gakuya tsû* of the previous year, and, as mentioned earlier, an allusion within the text of the latter may even have suggested the title to Jishô. Interestingly, Hachimonjiya and Yorozuya (Sanba's father-in-law) were at least nominally acquainted: a colophon dated Kansei 4 (1792), indicating a joint publication agreement, has been found in a reprint of Hiraga Gennai's *dangibon*, *Fûryû shidôken den* and also in Shinra Manzô's *yomihon*, *Kogarashi zôshi*.<sup>109</sup>

Jinbo describes Sanba's acknowledgment of his imitation of Jishô ("Hachimonja no kuchô o maneite") as purely superficial and as lacking ability, as stories do not develop in the same way as Jishô's *katagimono*.<sup>110</sup> Not surprisingly *Gakuya tsû* does not develop the *katagimono* style in depth: it is an appendix to a publication which is no less than pioneering in its combination of actor print and *kyôka*. We are, as a bonus after these prints, offered a "taster" of a *katagimono*. By the time of *Sangai kyô*, Sanba is mimicking the whole Hachimonjiya setup of (nominal) writer-cum-publisher, however Sanba fulfills both these roles personally.

---

107. In an early Kamigata *yomihon*, *Eiga no Utsutsu* (Fortune come real) by Uomaru of Kyôwa 4 (1804), he appears in the capacity of publisher, in a combination thereof, as Asayama Chûsaborô.

108. Kazama 1997, 401.

109. Tanahashi 1996, 4.

110. Jinbo 1983, 3.

### III The appendix of *Yakusha sangai kyô*

The *gekisho*, *Yakusha sangai kyô* (“Actor’s amusements of the third-floor dressing room”)<sup>111</sup> has both bibliographical and textual relevance to this thesis. As has been made clear, it is in fact the first work of Sanba’s pen to bear the name of the publisher, Yorozyua Tajiemon in the colophon. Furthermore, this name features next to that of Nishinomiya Shinroku. Here we can see Sanba working under the name of Yorozyua Tajiemon, alongside Nishinomiya Shinroku, in the physical production and publishing of his own work. It would appear to be the first partnership of its kind (the arrangement continues in *Shibai kinmô zui* and *Kyôka kei*).

Content-wise also, Sanba’s appendix to the set of actor prints which are entitled *Yakusha sangai kyô* has not been discussed fully before. The earlier *gekisho*, *Yakusha gakuya tsû* is better known due to its transcription in the Meiji era Teikoku Bunko series, and its several-page handling by Honda in *Shikitei Sanba no bungei*.<sup>112</sup> Whereas the appendix of *Gakuya tsû* has its own title of “*Yakusha hiiki katagi*”, the appendix to *Sangai kyô* remains anonymous, thus largely overlooked. *Yakusha sangai kyô*’s appendix purports to be *Gakuya tsû*’s sequel. Yet it proves to be more than that, transforming ideas developed in *Gakuya tsû* into a more topical, meaningful tale.

*Yakusha sangai kyô* is commonly described as a follower of *Yakusha natsu no fuji*, an actor print book of 1780, in its depiction of actors in everyday dress - like a snow-stripped Mt Fuji - in landscape settings. However, what of the written text, so-called appendix, which comprises half of each of the two volumes? This was not inspired by the actor prints.

Although it is unclear from the title, Sanba’s appendix to *Yakusha sangai kyô* follows in the line of the wave of *yakusha ichidaiki* (actor commemorations) which hit Kamigata in late 18th century (late Kansei) such as those following the death of Arashi Koroku III in 1796: the unillustrated *Tama no hikari* (Lustre of a jewel, 1796), the one-year anniversary memorial, *Arashi Koroku kako monogatari* (Tale of Arashi Koroku, 1797), and those celebrating the retirement of Arashi Sangorô II: *Raishi ichidaiki* (The life of Raishi, 1797), and *Kiri no shimadai* (Paulownia-wood ceremonial stand, 1797).<sup>113</sup>

---

111. My findings in connection with *Yakusha sangai kyô* can be found in a summary included in Gerstle 2005, 120 as a commentary accompanying an illustrated plate, a more abbreviated form having appeared as a caption alongside a copy of the work in the exhibition, “Kabuki heroes on the Osaka stage, 1780-1830” held at the British Museum, June-September 2005.

112. Honda 1973, 72, 89 etc.

113. Gerstle 2005, 110.

*Yakusha sangai kyô* goes unmentioned in Honda, and is brought up only fleetingly in Tanahashi in a listing of Sanba's theatre-related works.<sup>114</sup> He states that Sanba appended a text in keeping with the theme exhibited in the prints of actors in everyday life (a link I was unable to detect), and named it after the Chinese geographical legends, "Sangai kyô",<sup>115</sup> more often read "Sengai kyô" (*Shan hai jiang* in Chinese, translated as "Classics of mountains and seas"). However, from the wordplay upon Buddhist terminology to fit the theatre theme displayed in Sanba's preface, the title of "sangai" (third floor dressing room) is more likely a pun on the Buddhist "sangai" (three worlds). Akama also introduces *Sangai kyô* merely as following in the footsteps of Bakin's work of the previous year, *Yakusha meisho zue*,<sup>116</sup> but I will show *Yakusha sangai kyô* to have its own relevance. The fact that the text to *Sangai kyô* features the recently departed Danjûrô VI in its story-line has at last been touched upon, be it briefly, by Takahashi.<sup>117</sup>

As this is not a well-documented work, my précis of the contents follows. In keeping with the title's "sangai" meaning the actor's dressing room, and sounding like the "three worlds" of Buddhism, the preface by Sanba is riddled with puns on Buddhism and theatre vocabulary. Most of these are Chinese theatrical expressions glossed with Japanese readings. Some of these also appear in Hachimonja Jishô's *gekisho*, *Yakusha zensho* of 1774 (which provides a glossary of Chinese theatrical terms) and Bakin's *Yakusha meisho zue* (1800), but some others that feature in *Sangai kyô* can only be found in original Chinese books.

In his preface Sanba alludes to the Ming dramatist and critic, Ri Ryûô (Li Yu) and Ri Takugo (Li Zhi). Sanba would have been acquainted with Ryûô's work from the transcription of the last two scenes of the play, *Shin chû ro* (Shen zhong lou, The illusory tower<sup>118</sup>) included in the first volume of Hachimonja's *Shinkoku yakusha kômoku* of 1771. There is also a frontispiece to the second volume of *Sangai kyô* which includes an extract attributed to Ri Ryûô (1611-1680), alluding to the aria in drama:

At the beginning of the year there is a competition in music, and the songs of the nightingale and the swallow all lose to its tenderness.

We recall the illustration in Sanshō's *kibyôshi*, *Kahô wa ne monogatari* of 1803 where Sanba is pictured in his studio with a book cabinet behind him bearing the titles "Ryûô

114. Tanahashi 1994, 44.

115. Ibid., 44.

116. Akama 1997, 38.

117. Takahashi, 2000, 29

118. A fantasy featuring dragons, and with elaborate stage directions (Hanan 1988, 157).

ikkagen” etc. If Sanba (as head of the publishing house, Yorozya) owned Chinese drama and essay collections by dramatists such as Ryûô, it is possible that influence came from these, and not via Bakin’s precursor. Inoue Keiji has already pointed out instances where Sanba has referred directly to an original Chinese book rather than the Japan-ized version: in *Akogi monogatari* of 1809 he quotes straight from Ming-period novel, *Seisei kôgen*, not Ishikawa Masamochi’s translation, *Tsûzoku seisei kôgen*.<sup>119</sup>

The Opening Remarks to *Yakusha sangai kyô* tell how Nishinomiya took Toyokuni’s prototype actor prints to Sanba with the request that he write an accompanying text. Sanba laughs as the pictures are very much like those of *Yakusha natsu no fuji* of Anei 9 (1780). As in *Natsu no fuji*, the first picture is of New Year greetings at the theatre, and the last is of Hakuen (Danjûrô V) with Arashi Minshi (Hinasuke: 1st generation in *Natsu no fuji*, 2nd in *Sangai kyô*). However, the names of the actors appear in the prints in *Sangai kyô* in order to aid those unfamiliar with actors, and those who take the book back to the provinces as a souvenir. It took two years to complete this book as publication was delayed, we are told. Therefore the actors Iwai Hanshirô and Nakamura Noshio who have since died are illustrated, but have been left in the work as a remembrance for their fans.

Further in the Opening Remarks, Sanba tells Nishinomiya that new theatre-talk would not sell along with the old-style prints, so he would be better off rehashing an old tale. The basic story-line borrowed is Wasôbei, from a *kokkeibon* of that name of 1774 relating a journey into unknown and mythical lands, and the protagonist superimposed here is Ichikawa Danjûrô VI, who had died a year previous, and who, in this story, makes a tour of the islands of the “Kabuki Kingdom” of the “Other” world.

The first section of the main text of *Sangai kyô* begins by tracing the origins of the theatre, including the tales of Okuni and Nagoya Sanzaemon. It continues in a nostalgic manner to mention relics of Genroku Kabuki, before turning to the Ichikawa Danjûrô family; to Danjûrô V who retired early and took to the pen as Hakuen, and finally to his heir, Danjûrô VI. A glorifying account then ensues of Danjûrô VI’s stage career, and a mourning of his untimely death. While the play, *Chûshingura* was still attracting the crowds in the summer of Kansei 11 (1799), Danjûrô VI fell ill and passed away at the age of 22.

In section 2 the mood changes abruptly to a story-like one as it tells of how Sanjô (Danjûrô VI’s poetry alias) after death in this world, continues on past Santsu gawa (River of

---

119. Inoue 1984 [b], 33.

hell) to the islands of the Kabuki Kingdom, a region unseen even by Wasôbei. All the manners and customs of the place are as if on stage (this relates *Sangai kyô* theme-wise to *Gakuya tsû* of which it professes to be a sequel. We see the carryings-on of the Kabuki-crazed household expanded to describe everyday life in the Kabuki Kingdom). Within the Kabuki Kingdom, Sanjô visits the provinces of Hyôshû (*hyô*, or *omote*, meaning façade), Daishû, (*dai* of *butai*, stage), and Gakushû (*gaku* of *gakuya*, green room), where appearances and behaviour resemble those of the theatre exterior, the auditorium and stage, and backstage respectively. A narrative style is adopted here which is much easier to read and which includes Jôruri-style *kudôten* (punctuation markers), after there being no punctuation in the previous *tsuizen/gekisho* style section (the significance of these styles will be examined in the next chapters).

Sanjô first goes to Hyôshû (Façade province) and is surprised to see people dressed in the latest fashion as in Japan. Men wearing *haori* and *hakama* and carrying lanterns appear before him and say that they have received orders to bear him to Chikamatsu's presence. They lift Sanjô's basket to the rhythm of clapping hands. Houses along the way resemble the façade of a theatre, including New Year decorations. The people he passes sing *nagauta* (play songs) and perform *kowairo* (actor mimicry). Every signboard is written in the characteristic thick black lettering of theatre advertisements.

The sound of "Butai yarô" can be heard (the call used to attract the audience in to the start of the New Year theatre programme). "Nakani, nakani" (This way!), and the way is led to Daishû (Stage province), where, in a mountain village there lives a mystical bird who cries, "Kiri made, kiri made," (Stay till the end!) and other theatre jargon; according to the locals, if they address the bird with, "Mazu konnichi wa koregiri", (That's all for today), the bird replies "Myônichi wa hayô gozarimasu...", (Early start tomorrow...) – just like a theatre announcer.

Placenames are also connected with the theatre, such as *Nezumi no kido no sekimori* "Trapdoor barrier", *Kirimaku no minato* "Curtain port", *Doma no okumi* "Sea pit". Even a waterfall looks like a three-coloured waving cloth. (A similar pun play, though in pictorial form, was seen in Bakin's *Yakusha meisho zue* of the previous year). In the midst of this scene, traders from boats call out their wares of "Degatari jôruri, ehon banzuke, ômuseki yoshika?" (Anyone for chanting scripts, playbills, speech scripts?). They also sell *bentô* and *matsukaze manjû* – typical auditorium refreshments.

Section 3 sees Sanjô enter the island of Gakushû (Greenroom province) where it is dark and humid, and there is no difference between night and day. Music always plays at the Gakuya no seki (Greenroom barrier). The head of the theatre stands like the pillar of a shrine (*Daikoku-bashira* can mean both of these). The Sangai (third floor) islands can be seen faintly from the Chûnikai (*kai* written as “sea” and sounding like “storey”). Only residents are allowed there. Not much is known about this area as it is so secret and exclusive, as is the greenroom at the theatre.

One elder of the Gakushû province, called Chikamatsu Monzaemon, originally of Naniwa and who, we hear, had followed the road of Jôruri and Kabuki and created Tsuzuki kyôgen, had passed on to these islands to find no concept of right and wrong or knowledge of the 5 Buddhist ways. Chikamatsu educated the people through *kyôgen kigyo* (theatre-speak) and now the *shinôkôshô* (feudal) system and ethics prevail. Hence he is revered as King Chikamatsu.

“The arrival of Ichikawa Sanjô VI of the country of Japan of the South” is announced to Chikamatsu, in the style of a stage entrance to the sound of *geza* music and *meriyasu*: “Sanjô kô no oiri -”. Chikamatsu gives Sanjô a brief history of his life, as if giving a Jôruri recital: named Sugimori, he explains, he had begun as a servant to a samurai house, but from early Genroku era was given the chance to write plays for Bandayû in Kyoto. The Osaka great, Takemoto Chikugo, then arrived at the theatre. Sugimori changed his name to Chikamatsu Monzaemon, turning to Jôruri from Kabuki, and writing his first Jôruri piece, *Kokusenya*.

Then, one day the Buddhas of the other world heard how gifted Chikamatsu was, and summoned him away in Kyôho 9 at the age of over 70 to become a playwright saint. He was sent to impoverished islands which were as if from the distant past. He restored order there, dividing them into the three provinces (which Sanjô had just visited), known collectively as the Kabuki Kingdom, and has since governed them under his kingship.

However, Chikamatsu has no one to succeed him and asks a favour of Sanjô. He will teach him the secrets of immortality if he, with his “Edo spirit,” will help to write the 3rd part of a Jôruri play, and thereafter take the title of King Chikamatsu II. The whole kingdom consents to this, and a commemorative performance is given.

So, in Section 4, Ichikawa Sanjô becomes King Chikamatsu II, but as he has not yet seen Daishû properly, he heads there on the back of a crane (taken from the Danjûrô crest) and views the province from afar with Chikamatsu. People are as in the past and correctly



attired. The bad are evil, and the wise are very wise; the beautiful are beautiful, and the ugly are indeed ugly. Dandies have whitened faces and blue lines distinguish villains. He sees events happening as on stage. Buildings chop and change. People go in and out of gates although either side is a wide, open space. Loud voices are not overheard. All is straightforward and honest as on stage. The correct way for national customs and manners, say Sanjô and Chikamatsu, as they open their interval lunch boxes.

Sanba himself then returns to the narrative and advertises a sequel to the existing 4 sections (continuing to 20 sections in 3 volumes) which promise to describe further happenings of Sanjô in the Kabuki Kingdom (but which never actually appeared).

In the postscript, Sanba describes the artist, Toyokuni as a frequenter of the third floor dressing room, while he himself is down in the audience pit: such mock self-defamation in keeping with the *gesaku* writer's image (although we know Sanba had right of passage in to the greenroom from the previously quoted preface to *Kenkyû onna katakiuchi*). From their respective places, Toyokuni and Sanba together produced the work *Sangai kyô*. The work ends with a pun on "Kôjô sayô" (This ends the theatre announcements) and "Kôjo sayô" (This ends the postscript), and 4 "chon" of the theatre stage clappers signalling the end of a performance. Sanba signs his name (in this case in the script of the copyist), telling us he has just turned 25 years of age. [Figure 4B, p. 48]

### ***Yakusha sangai kyô* as memorial piece for Danjûrô VI**

Danjûrô VI died unexpectedly early at the age of 22 in the 5th month of Kansei 11 (1799). The official *tsuizen* (memorial piece) for Danjûrô VI, *Edo no hana satsuki no chirigiwa* (Flower of Edo falling scattered in the fifth month), was written in the set *kibyôshi* format immediately after his death in Kansei 11 by Bakin. The story begins on the 13th day, 5th month, after the day's Chûshingura performance. That night Danjûrô VI seeks lodgings beside the River of Hell. He is rescued from the clutches of King Enma by the late Onoe Kikugorô. Enma is about to throw Kikugorô into a cauldron when the cry of Shibaraku (Wait a minute) is heard, and Danjûrô VI appears in the famous role. He then changes to Uirô-uri (Medicine peddler) and gives potion to the demons of hell. By taking on the roles of various Danjûrô family heroes he overcomes all difficulties and eventually reaches heaven. Here he comes face to face with his ancestors in play-like address - following the model of the typical memorial *kibyôshi*. The tale ends with a *shini-e* (death portrait) of Danjûrô VI and a *kyôka* composed by Bakin.

There is also a rare *kibyôshi*, *Ichikawa Danjûrô gokuraku jikki* (Records of Ichikawa Danjûrô in heaven) by the unidentified Fukumata Sanjin, recently brought to our notice by Takahashi.<sup>120</sup> Danjûrô performs upon the stage of heaven along with other late actors, when Omasu, who had killed herself out of grief for Danjûrô, appears, having escaped from hell. Danjûrô and Jizô Bodhisattva give a performance of Shibaraku, after which she and Danjûrô create a bond by exchanging sake cups, overseen by Jizô. Danjûrô attains enlightenment and lives a life of pleasure in heaven. It is unusual for a memorial *kibyôshi* to include in its storyline the fanaticism of an admirer, but is perhaps testimony to contemporary popular sentiment regarding Danjûrô VI's premature death.

In 5th month of Kansei 12 (1800), the ten year old Ichikawa Ebizô (later Danjûrô VII) gave a performance of Danjûrô VI's once speciality, the "Uirô uri" (Medicine peddler) speech to mark the 1st anniversary of Danjûrô VI's death.<sup>121</sup> However, no *tsuizen* publication is known to have accompanied it. Although not claiming to do so, *Yakusha sangai kyô* could be seen to fill the requirement of a written *tsuizen*, despite containing a certain comic element. As the preface to *Sangai kyô* is dated the 11th month, Kansei 12 (1800), we know it was completed by 1 year and 3 months after his death. The Opening Remarks talk of a delay in the production process of this work, and that could explain its lateness as an anniversary piece. Regarding his decision to make use of the *gekisho* format for this: Sanba makes clear to us in several sources that comic prose, not verse, was his speciality. However, in this case his motives may well have been more complex.

Surprising though it may seem, Utei Enba (head of the Danjûrô fan club, Mimasuren) did not dwell on the sudden death of Danjûrô VI. Although I have just stated that he mentions in *Kabuki nendaiki* how Danjûrô VII gave a "one-year memorial" performance of "Uirô uri" for Danjûrô VI, it is in the context of glorifying Danjûrô VII. I believe that the duty of offering a 1st anniversary memorial piece for Danjûrô VI was taken up by Sanba as a member of Mimasuren due to Enba's own neglect. As defined by Hirose, the 7 Mimasuren *kyôka* collections edited by Enba commemorated the promotion, name-changing, and passing of Danjûrô V, VI, and VII.<sup>122</sup> However, no piece can be seen to mourn the death of Danjûrô VI in any special way.

---

120. Takahashi 2004, 288.

121. *Kabuki nendaiki*, 593.

122. Hirose 1984, 51.

During late Kansei 12 (1800) Enba was evidently preoccupied with the name-change to Danjûrô VII of the 10-year-old grandson of Hakuen (retired Danjûrô V), as the New Year 1801 saw the launch of Enba's Mimasuren *kyôka* collection, *Danjûrô shichise no mago* (The grandson, Danjûrô VII) celebrating Danjûrô VII's promotion. The creation and publication of *Danjûrô shichise no mago* was, then, simultaneous with that of *Yakusha sangai kyô*. Furthermore, Sanba noticeably did not contribute *kyôka* to *Danjûrô shichise no mago*, although he contributed to the Mimasuren *kyôka* collections immediately before and after.

The *gesaku* writer, Takizawa Bakin, we have seen, had written the official memorial to Danjûrô VI, *Edo no hana satsuki no chirigiwa* in the *tsuizen kibyôshi* format the previous year, but Bakin does not appear to have participated as a member of Enba's Mimasuren at any time (Indeed he offered his own style *kyôka* in memory of Danjûrô at the end of his *kibyôshi*). Did Sanba deliberately choose to append a text with Danjûrô VI as its theme precisely to fill the gap left by Mimasuren?

Takahashi concludes that the appearance of *Sangai kyô* (along with various prints) were a sign that grief over Danjûrô VI's early death was not confined to Bakin and Enba, but was also felt by the general populace.<sup>123</sup> However, I contend that Enba does not produce a *tsuizen* (memorial) piece for Danjûrô VI, and that Bakin, who did, was not representative of Mimasuren (Danjûrô fan club). Rather than writing as a member of the general populace, I believe Sanba was fulfilling a specific task/duty in accordance with the position in the theatre world that I have shown Sanba now occupied.

Sanba also chose the all-time great playwright, Chikamatsu to feature in his story. Several Chikamatsu *Jôruri* chanting books which were in Sanba's possession, which were used earlier in this chapter to indicate Sanba's ability at book conservation, and some of which include comments by him about performances, are also evidence of Sanba's interest in Chikamatsu. Allowing Danjûrô VI to become Chikamatsu II would appear to be a sign of veneration towards Danjûrô.

Strange is the fact that Sanba's text in *Sangai kyô* bears no relationship to the actor prints. Even more extraordinary, it would seem, is the fact that the written text features Danjûrô VI throughout, yet his portrait is not included among the actor prints. However, we can assume that Danjûrô VI's portrait had not been removed intentionally because two other late actors, Iwai Hanshirô and Nakamura Noshio, do feature. We can deduce, then, that the

---

123. Takahashi 2000, 30.

prints had been completed after the death of Danjûrô VI in 5th month, 1799, but before that of Hanshirô and Noshio, who both died in the 3rd month, 1800.

Of significance is the timing and location of Sanba's decision to write a memorial for Danjûrô VI. The task had to be done before celebrations of Danjûrô VII's succession were too far underway. We know Sanba was due to write a sequel to *Gakuya tsû* whose main theme was the depiction of "stage-like" living, and we can imagine a quick decision on Sanba's part to make Danjûrô VI the protagonist of this. Thus, the two were combined in the appendix of *Sangai kyô*, and Danjûrô VI remained unillustrated.

Sanba had already written a memorial *kibyôshi* for Shiba Zenkô in 1797,<sup>124</sup> and several years later wrote a *gôkan* remembering Hakuen (Danjûrô V), and also a *kokkeibon* and *gôkan* for Segawa Rokô (Kikunojô III). But these being "official" memorial pieces, they were in proper genre format and included numerous illustrations of the deceased.

Reasons for Sanba's decision to commemorate Danjûrô "unofficially" in the appendix of a print book can only be speculated upon. Sanba, in his appendix to *Sangai kyô*, introduces Danjûrô VI as Danjûrô V's successor blatantly thus: "*Jisshi Danjûrô wa sôzoku shite sunawachi rokudaimé nari*," ("His real son succeeded him as Danjûrô, that is 6th in the line"). Nowhere in Mimasuren *kyôka shû* or *Kabuki nendaiki* during this period, however, does Enba refer to the fact that Danjûrô VI was Hakuen's own son.

Enba had remained silent over the "Tonda uwasa" (Flown rumour) affair, news of relations between Danjûrô V and the widow of his former pupil, Ichikawa Yaozô in 8th month, Anei 7 (1778), although his contemporary, Hiraga Gennai commented upon it in "Tonda uwasa no hyô", soon after the *kawaraban* (broadsheet)'s release of the scandal. Enba merely states in *Kabuki nendaiki* that there "were reasons" (*wake arite*) which forced Danjûrô V to resign as troupe leader of the Nakamura theatre.<sup>125</sup> Details of the scandal in full are recorded by the actor Nakamura Nakazô in his diary, "Shûkaku nikki".<sup>126</sup> The event was accompanied by the abandoning by Danjûrô V of the adoption arrangement of his brother, Kôshirô's son, Komazô, who had been set to become the next Danjûrô, undoubtedly in favour of a certain Tokuzô born that year.<sup>127</sup>

---

124. Sô no kai points out that this was four years late (Sô 1998, 231), confirming Sanba's apparent apathy towards tardiness. *Shiba Zenkô yume no muda gaki* (Dreamlike ramblings upon Shiba Zenkô) is also similar in theme to *Sangai kyô*, in having the protagonist transform regions of the Other World in ways that reflect him. Thus both stories seek to keep us up to date with Zenkô and Danjûrô since their deaths some years previous.

125. *Kabuki nendaiki*, 368.

126. *Kabuki nenpyô*, 339-342.

127. Kato 2000, 195.

The son was first introduced in Tenmei 2 (1782) at the age of 5 during the spring performance at Nakamura-za. He appeared on stage in the arms of Onoe Matsusuke who was in the role of Asahina, and Nakamura Nakazô's *kôjô* stage announcement made it clear that this was Danjûrô V's child, an account which appears in the fore-mentioned diary. Although Enba records details about the play, *Nanakusa yosô Soga*, he makes no mention of Nakazô's revelation.<sup>128</sup> Later in the same year it is Ota Nanpo's Yomonoren who dedicated a small, childlike *kyôka* collection to Tokuzô, *Ichikawa hiiki Edo no hanaebi* (Popular Ichikawa, glorious "Ebi [shrimp]" of Edo), to celebrate his name-change to Ebizô.

Similarly, during Danjûrô V (Hakuen)'s famous mounting of the stage in civilian wear in Kansei 10 (1798), his speech included mention of his son who had risen to head of the theatre company, a speech which is dutifully transcribed by Enba, but not passed comment upon,<sup>129</sup> avoidance of the subject extending to his Mimasuren *kyôka shû*. Likewise, it is not Enba but Kyôden who goes so far as to name the mother of Danjûrô VI as one Baikyoku in the actor family genealogy, *Yakusha daikeizu* of c.1805 (admittedly this did not appear until posthumously). As Hino notes, her identity had already been concealed in Enba's *Mimasu no kumitire* (The stacking trays of Mimasu) of Kansei 9 (1797) by referring to her as a daughter of Hakuen.<sup>130</sup> All along the way it is curiously everyone but Enba who gives attention to Tokuzô, later Danjûrô VI.

Due to the non-commitment of Enba, who otherwise masterminded the whole information network left to us today about the Danjûrô lineage, there has been continued confusion over the identity of Danjûrô VI. Danjûrô VI is now recognized as the illegitimate child of Danjûrô V who was brought up by Ichikawa Masuzô, became the adopted son of Izumiya Kanjûrô (Danjûrô V's pupil), and then in Tenmei 1 (1781), under the name of Ichikawa Tokuzô, became the "adopted" son of Danjûrô V, later to be called Ebizô.<sup>131</sup>

It would seem that Enba was generally careful to refrain from any activity that might sully the reputation of Mimasuren, the "pure-line" Danjûrô fan-club. As the illegitimate son of Hakuen, was Danjûrô VI unacknowledged as a true son by Enba and his Mimasuren, now devoted to the grandson's line? The title of the Mimasuren *kyôka* collection celebrating Danjûrô VII's name-taking, *Danjûrô shichise no mago*, is telling: although read as "mago",

128. *Kabuki nendaiki*, 390.

129. *Ibid.*, 561.

130. Hino 1975, 604.

131. *Shintei zôho Kabuki jinmei jiten*, 95.

the characters used are “chakuson”, by way of which Enba is pointedly identifying Danjûrô VII as not just a grandson of Hakuen, but a “legitimate” grandson.

Sanba had to tread carefully vis à vis his senior and once teacher in his timely honouring of Danjûrô VI. Sanba later joins Mimasuren *kyôka* activities again; however, it is noticeable that the Mimasuren *kyôka shû*, *Iyo mimasu* of Bunka 8 (1811) includes a *kyôka* by Sanba which is the only poem in this collection dedicated to Danjûrô VI:

Kojin Hakuen sono kuchô ni naraite, jûsan kai wo tsuifuku suru shibaraku no tsurane  
Using phrases learnt from the late Hakuen, the Shibaraku speech reminds us that it is ten years since  
our parting

Born just 2 years apart from each other - Sanba in 1776, Danjûrô VI in 1778 - had Danjûrô VI been a particular favourite/associate of Sanba's?

In its overall handling of the late Danjûrô VI, *Yakusha sangai kyô* should be reconsidered as a second, or alternative, *tsuizenmono* (memorial piece) for Danjûrô VI.

## Conclusion

Through my investigation of Sanba's publishing activities, we see a very different side to Sanba from the generally accepted “*gesaku* fiction-writer” image. The evidence I have provided here supports the notion that Sanba himself participated in the various duties of a serious-book publisher from at least 1800 and into 1806. Sanba was not only an author but a practical businessman of some rank who was aware of the whole production process of woodblock publication.

We now have a more balanced view of Sanba's early career: we see that it was his publishing business activities that took precedence at this time. This is a more practical explanation for the continued lack of *gesaku* authorship around the Kyôwa period (1801-1803), which has hitherto been blamed on the lingering effect of the ban induced by *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki* of 1799. Contemporary sources are careful not to mention Yorozyu's name in connection with Sanba the *gesaku* writer. Nor is Horinoya mentioned where Yorozyu is concerned. The revelation of a series of facts with which to reinstate/recreate the forgotten, though seemingly turbulent, image of “master of a serious literature publishing house-Sanba”, was my first aim here.

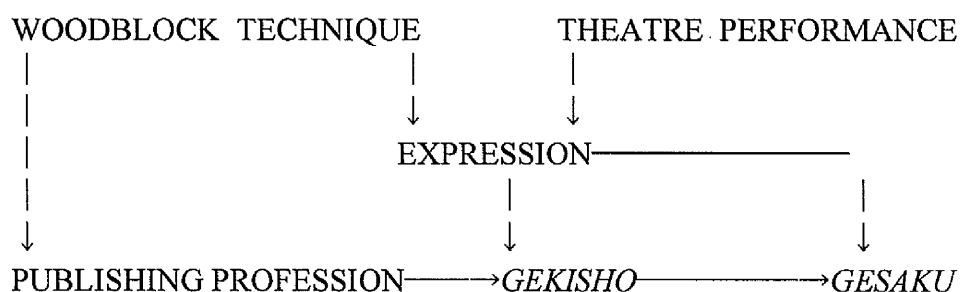
Although the late Kansei/Kyôwa Kabuki book trend was short, Sanba took a major part in its success in producing the combination *gekisho*: he made use of the standard achieved by the Kamigata actor print book artists, his connections in the Edo kyôka world, and his own abilities in prose-writing. He could even be said to have begun and ended it: stimulated by *Yakusha gakuya-tsû* and culminating in *Shibai kinmô zui*. I also suggested that Sanba went behind Enba's back to write a memorial piece for Danjûrô VI, but was subtle in his methods: we find it "hidden" in the appendix of a general actor print book, *Yakusha sangai kyô*. Moreover, the fact that Sanba wrote this *tsuizen*, memorial piece, suggests he had acquired for himself a position of knowledge and status in the theatre world by this time, which fulfils the second aim of this chapter.

I have managed to fill some gaps in the most recent chronology of Sanba's career, and establish Sanba in an influential position in the authorship of theatre books and the publishing world. I have demonstrated how the two aspects were inseparably tied, and, in this respect, how Sanba was responsible for reconciling/closing the gap between the worlds of *gesaku* and *mono no hon* (popular fiction and serious literature). Both of these aspects of his early biography will have bearing in the issues discussed in the next 3 chapters.

### Chapter 3 : Representation of performance in fiction

Sanba was personally associated with the theatrical world, and was deeply involved in woodblock book design and publication. Having identified his intimate knowledge of these two areas, in this chapter we take a step further, and consider the different ways in which performance was represented on the pages of his fiction.

#### **Sanba's path to *gesaku***



The diagram above shows the path I have found Sanba take towards producing *gesaku* fiction, and which I follow in this thesis in exploring the relationship between woodblock publishing, theatre, and fiction. Woodblock, as carved by his father, led to publishing experience which in turn saw the physical production of *gekisho* by Sanba (anti-clockwise from top left of diagram). Woodblock also lent itself to artistic expression, and in combination with performance which it endeavoured to represent, saw the creation of his particular kind of *gekisho* and *gesaku* (clockwise from top). *Gekisho* were crucial in developing traits specific to much of Sanba's fiction.

I used Sanba's early work, *Yakusha sangai kyô* to locate him within the backstage theatre world, but in this piece of writing we also see the prototype forms of Sanba's distinctive techniques for representing performance, which were further refined in later works. As an appendix to a book of actor prints, in *Yakusha sangai kyô* Sanba was free from rigid genre dictates and could use a variety of styles within one work. I identified the different types of text within *Sangai kyô* just by looking at contrasting features in the woodblock.<sup>1</sup>

1. A summarized version of some aspects of the next 2 chapters in Cross 2004.



## I Memoria of *gekisho*

One type of representation I have called “memoria”. Carruthers, discussing the English medieval culture of memoria in *The book of memory*, has argued,

A book is not necessarily the same thing as a text... For us, texts only come in books, and so the distinction between the two is blurred and even lost. But, in a memorial culture, a ‘book’ is only one way among several to remember a ‘text’, to provision and cue one’s memory with ‘dicta et facta memorabilia’<sup>2</sup>

Common with “oral” traditions of all ages and cultures was the Edo lack of writers’ copyright. There was a vast pool of “texts” that could be freely drawn upon, which are subsequently “represented” by the current version. This memoria bank has been talked of as a social “institution”.<sup>3</sup> Knowledge of the Kabuki theatre in Edo period Japan could be described as one of these, manifesting itself in book form primarily in *yakusha hyôbanki* (actor critiques), and later in the genre of *gekisho*, but existing more importantly in the minds of the audiences.

In discussing *Kezairoku*, a treatise on playwriting of 1801, Saltzman-Li remarks that,

*gekisho*... enclose a resistance to full and accurate representation of their proclaimed subject, as if to make it their real purpose the insistence that an exhaustive exploration is impossible in written treatise format.<sup>4</sup>

However, this “resistance” in itself is a type of representation. The whole of the old need not be in the new written text for it to be present in the imagined, or represented text. This way of approaching a text ties in with the Reception Theory proposed by Wolfgang Iser during 1970s, and discussed by Eagleton: “However solid a text may seem, any text for reception theory is actually made up of ‘gaps’, ... where the reader must supply a missing connection”.<sup>5</sup>

In general, *gekisho* serve to jog ones memory of something longer or difficult to record, or recorded elsewhere. Early prototype *gekisho* such as Hachimonjiya’s *Kokon yakusha taizen* (1750) were created from the desire to commemorate the lives of actors. Generations of *yakusha hyôbanki* were “absorbed” into *gekisho*, Hachimonjiya admitting that

---

2. Carruthers 1990, 8.

3. Ibid., 259.

4. Saltzman-Li 1994, 260.

5. Eagleton 1983, 66.

this is how they were created in his preface to *Yakusha zensho* (1774).<sup>6</sup> A *hyôbanki* after the death of an actor necessarily becomes a *tsuizen* (memorial) piece; Kansei/Kyôwa-boom *gekisho*, then, derived from the actor *tsuizen*, and in this respect *Sangai kyô* is a typical *gekisho*, although it does not fit directly into the *maku no uchi shôkai sho* (guides to behind the scenes) category which marks the boom. The *tsuizen* element in *Sangai kyô* in fact follows on from the type of *gekisho* that Hachimonja Jishô was producing around this time, but which have not been fully discussed in listings of Kansei period *gekisho*. These include biographies such as *Minshisen* (1790): a record of Arashi Koroku III's stage career, *Tama no hikari* (1796) written on his death and continuing his life history, and *Kiri no shimadai* (1797) marking the retirement of Arashi Sangorô II.<sup>7</sup> These also all include portraits of the actors.

The first section of *Sangai kyô* is a string of allusions to past texts, performances etc. If all were to be investigated they would create vast notes (on a similar scale to the note-bound '*Yakusha meisho zue*' o yomu,<sup>8</sup> annotations of Bakin's *gekisho* of that name of the previous year). A basic search finds ample allusions to suggest what the contemporary reader was given opportunity to recall. As in the style of original *gekisho*, *Sangai kyô* begins by tracing the origins of the theatre, including the tales of Okuni and Nagoya Sanzaemon, reminiscent of the start of Hachimonjiya's *Kokon yakusha taizen*.<sup>9</sup> The prose goes on to list relics of Genroku Kabuki – actor souvenirs: 'Sawa no jô bôshi' (Sawa no jô hats), 'Koroku-zome' (Koroku dyeing), 'Danjûrô senbei' (Danjûrô rice crackers), 'Iwai-gushi' (Iwai combs), 'Rokô cha' (Rokô tea) etc. – these all feature as subheadings with descriptions in Volume 3 of Hachimonjiya's *gekisho*, *Yakusha zensho* of 1774.<sup>10</sup>

Nostalgia then turns to the Ichikawa Danjûrô family, introduced by the set phrase used by all generations in their *kôjô* (announcement speeches), "Toi nanban hokuteki seiju shii hakko tenchi kenkon no sono aida ni shiru hito zo shiru yakusha..." (which boils down to, "the actor the whole world knows") – it is also the first line of an account of the Danjûrô family in another Hachimonjiya *gekisho*, *Shinkoku yakusha komoku* of 1771.<sup>11</sup> Jinbo describes Sanba's acknowledgement of his imitation of Hachimonja Jishô as referring to a

6. Akama gives rise to the notion of a Hachimonjiya "hyôbanki henshû shitsu" (actor critique editing office) where all the necessary information from over the years was stored and could be retrieved (Akama 2003, 199). Much of this could also have been a memory-based catalogue.

7. The latter two have recently featured in Gerstle 2005, 110.

8. Hirose 2001.

9. *Nihon shomin bunka shiryo shusei* 6, 9.

10. Ibid. 229.

11. Ibid. 154.

superficial mimicry of *ukiyo-zôshi*, as stories do not develop in the same way as Jishô's *katagimono*, for example.<sup>12</sup> However, here imitation, or allusion to Hachimonja ("Hachimonja ryû ni", "in the style of Hachimonja" in *Yakusha sangai kyô* preface) can be seen to extend to Jishô's *gekisho*, possibly what Sanba was referring to.

The first section of *Yakusha sangai kyô* finally focusses specifically upon Danjûrô VI, giving a glorifying overview of his stage career, mentioning the names of plays, events, roles and costumes, and arriving at his untimely death. This mourning piece and the preceding theatre-origin account and reminiscences section, are comprised of incomplete allusions or phrases pertaining to, for example, certain actor's fashions or theatre souvenirs. We find these snippets drawn from theatre-books of some 50 years previous where they feature with full explanations. This written text of theatre-related fiction, a piece of "literature" for "reading", has been purposefully produced and printed without punctuation. However, it "contains" numerous texts, invisible on the surface, and to the unacquainted. This Reception Theory-style reading is explained by Eagleton:

The text itself is really no more than a series of 'cues' to the reader, invitations to construct a piece of language into meaning. In the terminology of reception theory, the reader 'concretizes' the literary work, which is in itself no more than a chain of organized black marks on a page. Without this continuous active participation on the reader's part, there would be no literary work at all.<sup>13</sup>

Memoria texts require the kind of reader defined by Eco as the model reader. In order to discover the intertextual frames that are indispensable to the *fabula*, we are encouraged to take "inferential walks: they are not mere whimsical initiatives on the part of the reader, but are elicited by discursive structures"<sup>14</sup>. Edo period Memoria texts' discursive structures are notable for having precisely no structure. The complete lack of punctuation in these Memoria type texts meant the reader was free to decide "how to activate one or other of the textual levels"<sup>15</sup> as in the Eco-defined "Open text".

Thomas has written that in ancient Greece,

Without word-division, accents or much punctuation, ... the comparatively unhelpful features of earlier written texts (including documents) were closely related to the fact that they had had rather different functions – as monuments, documents for possible reference, or mnemonic aids for works which it was assumed would be heard and read aloud rather than read silently.<sup>16</sup>

---

12. Jinbo 1983, 3.

13. Eagleton 1983, 66.

14. Eco 1979, 32.

15. Ibid., 39.

16. Thomas 1992, 92-3.

Lack of punctuation renders the first section of *Sangai kyô* difficult, at least for us, to read. However, the lack of punctuation meant the Edo reader was free to wander off on a tangent, follow up on the initiated cue, or recall a related piece of material. All of these can be considered part of the “absorbed” or “represented” text. And as Thomas suggests, it would be natural for these recollected texts to be voiced out loud. Similarly, Barber argues from the point of view of African praise poetry that identifying a fixed text as an object shows the performance nature surrounding it.<sup>17</sup> The Greek “monument”, the English medieval “institution”, the African “fixed text” and this Japanese memoria type representation would seem to correspond with each other.

The string of memoria gets longer and longer. In the preface to *Shinkoku yakusha kômoku* of 1771, Jishô instructs the reader to look in tandem with *Taizen* whilst reading the book, as his forefather was able to make use of the debates of the great Chinese play experts such as Ri Takugo (Li Zhuo Wu [Li Zhi]) and Ri Ryûô (Li Weng [Li Yu]), though he (due to lack of skill) is not. Sanba would seem to respond to this, with further deference, in the preface to *Sangai kyô*, saying that unlike Ryûô and Takugo, he (Sanba) is completely lacking in knowledge and discernment, as is clear from his new work for the season. As a result of this altercation, “Ryûô Takugo” becomes a sort of byword for theatre greatness, featuring in the postscript of *Kakusha hyôbanki* (1810) and the preface to an *e-iri nehon* (illustrated play-script) *Ehon iroha moji chûshingura* (Illustrated, easy to read *Treasury of loyal retainers*, 1813, for which Sanba wrote the preface only). Only the most dedicated follower of theatre literature would perhaps follow this line through.

Represented texts in *Yakusha sangai kyô* range from the Hachimonjiya *gekisho* (Hachimonjiya’s *gekisho*, by Sanba’s generation, were in themselves an institution) - and in turn the *hyôbanki* that formed them - to the past ephemeral performances which remain in the institution’s memory. Sanba’s allusions tend to be specific (he undoubtedly referred to one certain Hachimonjiya *gekisho* to reproduce for example, in the same order, a list of past theatre relics). However, allusions could be treated more generally or widely within the institution. The reader would read until something caught his or her imagination and was able to recall another text or piece of memory.

Where movable-type modern versions of this type of text do exist, commas and full-stops and such punctuation marks have often been inserted. This dictates where the particular editor directs us to pause and reflect, rather than where our particular memories lead us to

---

17. Barber 2003, 326-7.

recollect, recite, etc. In other words, this punctuation breaks the flow of the “represented” texts which are tumbling forth from the page.

### Memoria in other genres

The appendix to Sanba’s first *gekisho*, *Yakusha gakuya tsû*, which is entitled “Yakusha hiiki katagi” (1799) purports to have been written “in the style of Hachimonja”. In the previous chapter I defended it against the criticism levelled by Jinbo of its being a poor example of the Hachimonja *katagimono* style.<sup>18</sup> My one point was that it only constituted a “taster” of a *katagimono* due to practical restrictions. Secondly, in relation to texts as memoria, this taster provides the reader with room for comparison with the famous Hachimonja *katagimono* in the same way as *Sangai kyô* relates to *gekisho* discussed above.

In his dissertation on Kyôden’s *kibyôshi*, Kern states that, “A large part of the enjoyment of reading a *kibyôshi* had nothing to do with the storyline, but with the in-group jokes and references that were being bandied about”.<sup>19</sup> This ties in with my notion of memoria, but Kern does not conjecture upon the actual form that the method of reading and enjoyment might take. He does write that *kibyôshi* requires “imaginative reading”,<sup>20</sup> but does not suggest what this means in practical terms. Memoria is crucial for the understanding of the humour, but appears to be of an exclusive nature in many of Kyôden’s *kibyôshi*.

An example of a *kibyôshi* by Sanba shows memoria at work in this genre. Sanba picks up on the general trend at this time of nostalgic cultural revelling in his *kibyôshi*, *Kusazôshi kojitsuke nendaiki* (A contorted history of illustrated fiction) of 1802, using his knowledge of the past “light fiction” literary world. *Kusazôshi kojitsuke nendaiki* tells the traditional fairy story of a princess who is cursed to wear a pot on her head, whilst constituting a history of the authors, illustrators and publishers involved in the production of *kusazôshi* from the early Edo period. It is also a chronological record of narrative styles and book formats: Sanba achieves this by writing and illustrating in the manner of each period as the story progresses. Thus, recollection of the style of each period would contribute to appreciation of Sanba’s efforts at composition and illustration.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, we can learn about past styles straight from Sanba’s *kibyôshi*. Here memoria can work both ways.

---

18. Jinbo 1983, 3.

19. Kern 1997, 143.

20. Ibid. 155.

21. This is but a further example of Sanba’s using his proximity to *mono no hon*, serious literature, at least as physical items, to apply the Edo period methods-in-the-making of bibliographical research to *kusazôshi*, light

Memoria are clues for recollecting and reproducing past performances. This is perhaps more clearly demonstrated in a work resulting from an actual occasion. Regarding non-fiction, we can see how even a book on the subject of flower arranging, *Enshûryû sôka hyakuhei zushiki* (Diagrams of a hundred vase arrangements of the Enshû School) of Bunka 3 (1806) derives from performance, which can be re-lived with the help of the *gesakusha*: it contains a formerly unattributed postscript by Sanba. Sanba can be identified only by his red seal at the end of the postscript.<sup>22</sup>

The arrangement specialist, Bajô describes in his own postscript how a while before he called upon a like-minded group and a flower-arranging event (the “performance”) was held. The best results were recorded and made into this book. It is possible that the book was first circulated in manuscript form among a selected few, those to whom the book would serve directly as memoria. Bajô was obviously eager for this particular book to sell on the open market, and so asked Enba and Sanba to provide a preface and postscript, although it would appear from their words that they did not take part in the occasion. But how does Sanba recommend this book for popular enjoyment in his postscript?

Recently Jogetsuan Bajô came along with diagrams of a hundred arrangements, and asked me for a postscript. On their perusal, I saw such marvellous diagrams, with both tops and undersides of leaves and back and front angles made clear, much luxuriant foliage being used, but easy for the beginner to appreciate; it was as if the flowers themselves were alive.

We find him actually imagining the occasion of the arranging; the flower arrangements come to life. In other words, Sanba and Enba were the first “readers” of the commercial product. In this case we are in the same position as Sanba, who encourages us to imagine the occasion and the arrangements.

Readers unfamiliar with the particular “performance” were able to enjoy the books: we are still closely in touch with the performance because this book doubles as an advertisement, each diagram including the flower species, name and address of the arranger. The book obviously retained popularity due to the existence of a Bunsei 2 (1819) impression.<sup>23</sup>

---

literature. Another manifestation, perhaps, of Sanba’s attempts to close the gap between the worlds of *mono no hon* and *kusazôshi*.

22. First impression copy in Genkaichô collection, Saga.

23. Diet Library collection.

## Identifying the performance

Gerstle argues that physical texts are not simply representations of performance. As physical objects they have become “something entirely different and of a different genre”. He gives the example of private prints.

In discussing *surimono*, Gerstle states, “the text was not the prints themselves, or [the] poems on them, but rather the ‘text’ was the memory of the communal performance of a day of art appreciation, tea ceremony, poetic composition....”.<sup>24</sup> He uses text and performance synonymously in describing the closed world of privately-commissioned prints (*surimono*). To understand *surimono* it would seem we need to look from the performance to its representation, as appreciators of the representation (the *surimono*) were the same individuals as the participators in the initial performance (event). *Surimono* and private *kyôka* collections etc. should then be the last point of reference in determining their function. *Surimono* alone would have had little meaning for the general Edo populace as they do today without detailed research into the nature of the performance.

Gerstle talks from the point of view of performance being put into another form. However, performances were stored, even at the time, in much greater number (and now exclusively), in secondary form (i.e. the resultant literature or art), than they were in primary form (confined to memory the moment they were over). The secondary form surely had more significance or meaning even for the small numbers of people who had actually attended the performance and could still recall it?

I would argue that commercial fiction also exists out of a representation of a performance. However, in the case of popular fiction, we must first consult the representation to discover the performance. Even Edo readers would have approached the piece of fiction from the direction of the book (representation) to the performance, as there is no one performance that all readers would have experienced (books circulated in manuscript form prior to mass publication are an exception). However Edo readers were trained to identify the performance from within the book before attempting to read. The performance was crucial for understanding the fiction. Overlooking the performance has left modern readers unable to find value in the book. It is a search for the performance that needs to be undertaken too in Kyôden’s *kibyôshi*.

Commenting on the interaction of audience and actors at the Kabuki theatre, Raz states, “The theatrical experience included *being* an audience... Physically and conceptually,

---

24. Gerstle 2003, 366.

audiences were part of the scene”.<sup>25</sup> The transition from live performance to latent performance in fiction was not so great considering the nature of the auditorium setting as exemplified by works such as Sanba’s *Kejô suigen maku no soto* (Theatre-style outside the curtain) and *Kakusha hyôbanki* (Evaluating the audience), and illustrated depictions of the theatre which more often than not include audience. The audience-cum-readership was already accustomed to active involvement.

### **The preface as prologue to the performance**

In his prefaces, Sanba almost always describes the event or “performance” which led to his putting pen to paper. Prefaces written by guests are usually accompanied by one of Sanba’s own. They are written in large, bold lettering, often in Sanba’s own distinctive hand, reproduced faithfully in woodblock. Their appearance alone tells us they are essential reading before launching upon the main text. This is similar to the *kotoba gaki* (preface) of Waka poems where it is still thought that the reading of the *kotoba gaki* is necessary for full appreciation of the poem. It is significant that books were often first circulated among a limited group (those who had participated in or had knowledge of the performance) in manuscript form without prefaces. In general within published *gesaku*, a preface-like section was often present at the beginning of the text, but within the page format of the specific genre. Prefaces separate from the main text and in large lettering became widespread towards the end of the 18th century, as readership began to extend to a general audience.

This so-called performance context is sometimes found described in further detail in the particularly Sanba-style “Opening remarks”, which usually follow the preface. They deal with the practical nitty gritty; facts about the prints being described in *Yakusha sangai kyô*, and information about dialect in *Tatsumi fugen* (Language of Fukagawa women). Transcending genre characteristics and divides, they are all somewhat official-looking. Again, appearance tells us they should be consulted seriously before the real enjoyment of the main text begins.

The most well-documented of these performance descriptions in fiction must be Karku’s bathhouse story and its inspiring of *Ukiyoburo*. As in Iwasaki’s description of *gesaku*’s most important characteristic being “its organic relationship with the activities of the community... Central to these activities were parties on a grand scale”.<sup>26</sup> it was such a

---

25. Raz 1983, 181.

26. Iwasaki 1984, 363.



communal occasion (“performance”) that gave birth to one of the best-known works of the late Edo period. *Ukiyoburo* (Bathhouse of the floating world) of 1809, a *kokkeibon* (comic fiction) by Sanba, is comprised of a series of verbal sketches of visitors to the bathhouse during a single day. The preface tells us of how one evening a Rakugo event by the storyteller, Sanshôtei Karku was held at the house of the Ukiyo-e artist, Toyokuni:

“There is surely no one as funny as he;” writes Sanba, “how hard it is to be even a tenth as effective on paper! Beside me that evening, laughing as hard as I was, sat a publisher. Greedy as ever, he suddenly asked me if I would put something together based on these stories of the public bath”.<sup>27</sup>

It is interesting that Toyokuni’s own response to the performance might appear to have manifested itself in an Ukiyo-e triptych, “The bath house”, which has hitherto only been roughly dated as late 18th-early 19th century.<sup>28</sup>

The above performance is in the form of a conventional performance (Rakugo storytelling). However, “performance” might take some unorthodox forms. Sanba’s anecdote in the preface of *Yakusha sangai kyô*, about how the publisher Nishinomiya Shinroku smugly brought along “original” illustrations by Toyokuni to ask Sanba for an accompanying text, only to be laughed at by Sanba because they were just like those of *Natsu no fuji*, can also be interpreted as the “performance”. (Sanba’s “performances” often involve altercations between himself and Nishinomiya. The greedy publisher of *Ukiyoburo* happens to be his own younger brother, Sasuke). Mundane or “untheatrical” as it may seem, it is just the description of the event that we need. We now know we must recall/refer to the illustrations of *Natsu no fuji* to appreciate fully *Sangai kyô*. Also, the performance retold in the preface has Nishinomiya instruct Sanba that he was free to write about what he liked in the theatre world, as long as it had a nostalgic theme (What ensued was a take on the Wasobei story featuring characters of Sanba’s choosing: Danjûrô VI and Chikamatsu, telling us about Sanba’s own interests and concerns).

The performance laid out in the preface does not necessarily correspond to the *sekai* and *shukô* (theme and original presentation of it) which Kern observes writers increasingly marked (after publishers’ insistence) in order to make their work more widely accessible.<sup>29</sup> The performance may however contain elements of the *sekai* or *shukô*. For example, in *Sangai kyô* the *sekai* text is Wasôbei and the *shukô* the death journey of Danjûrô VI, while

---

27. Trans. Leutner 1985, 141.

28. Ashmolean Cat no. 27; X4676a,b,c, in an exhibition, “Beauties of the four seasons”, held at the Ashmolean Museum, August-October 2005.

29. Kern 1997, 464.

the performance to prompt the work is the recorded conversation between Sanba and Nishinomiya.

Of course, all artistic/literary creation needs some event or trigger to unroll. However, here it seems crucial to provide the reader with details of the occasion for a work to exist. Thus, it is not necessary to have experienced the original performance that inspired the new literary/artistic form. The context is explained and the work legitimized (including the added bonus of amusing anecdotes about favourite authors and publishers). The reader is aware of what is needed to consider and which knowledge should be recalled to enjoy and appreciate the resulting creation on its own.

Reading of this type of fiction was a more active, creative, participative process than we are used to, where everything necessary is handed to us on a plate. Edo readers had to bring along their own store of knowledge and experience to the reading process. However, this knowledge did not necessarily require book literacy as it could be gained through aural or visual means. But the fact that this was the expected method of reading for the majority of fiction implies that this was part of the enjoyment process – keeping fresh in ones mind past texts while adding another to it.

The *e-iri nehon* (illustrated play-script), *Yakusha hama no masago* (Myriad of actors like sand on a beach), of Kyôwa 3 (1803) offered a ‘dream-team’ of actors for each of the roles. The actual play whose script it utilized, *Kinmon gozan no kiri* (Temple gate and the Paulownia crest) was last staged in Kansei 12 (1800) with different actors. “Readers are clearly challenged to connect their memories of the actors while they read the play”.<sup>30</sup> An imaginary, or ideal performance had perhaps even more scope for a successful secondary performance. In the same way, we shall never know whether Sanba’s frequent mockery of Nishinomiya Shinroku actually took place (though we might like to think it did), or whether it was just a “staged” selling ploy.<sup>31</sup> The act of being a *gesaku* fiction writer was in itself a type of performance.

The performance’s relaying to the reader something about Sanba’s thought processes in this way is a manifestation of what Kern has termed authors’ achieving the status of

---

30. Gerstle 2003, 368.

31. There has even been doubt shed upon the convincing tale of Karku’s evening of Rakugo: relating an idea first suggested by Nakamura Yukihiro, Nagatomo has written how *Ukiyoburo* might have found inspiration in “Buroya no dan” from the Jôri, *Gion sairei shinkôki* (Gion festival chronicle of faith) (Nagatomo 2001, 207-8). Whatever the case, we see an array of (convenient) performance contexts at Sanba’s fingertips.

cultural icon.<sup>32</sup> Sanba's tales of being nagged by publishers and overnight authorship became part of his identity. Kyôden is more likely to achieve this by portraying through illustration his alter-ego, the Enjirô-type would-be playboy character, and *mitate* allusions within illustration. There is notably no preface to Kyôden's *Edo umare uwaki no kabayaki* (Edo-born grilled eel of affairs) of 1785: the illustration of Enjirô on the first page in all his attire *is* the preface.

In this respect Sanba is closely following the father of *gesaku*, Ming Li Yu. Hanan has shown that the prologues to Li Yu's fiction often contain personal anecdotes which take the form of those in his essays collected in *Kanjô guki* (Casual expressions),<sup>33</sup> a volume in *Ri Ryûô ikkagenshû* possibly housed in Sanba's studio at Yorozyû's, and part of which had been published in Japan by Horinoya in 1801. Other distinguishing features of Li Yu's prologues are the misapplied quotations and farcically extended arguments, techniques also found in his essays.<sup>34</sup> Personal anecdotes, we have seen, are rife in Sanba's prefaces, and the one in *Sangai kyô* (1801) is a good case in point of the relentless comic displacement of theatre jargon with Buddhist terminology.

Modern movable-type versions often put the all-important preface in the same small font as the main text, tempting us to overlook it as we (can) do in modern fiction. The earliest attempt to put Edo literature into modern movable type was the *Teikoku Bunko* (Imperial library) series, through the desire in the late 19th century to create a comparable Western-style canon of national literature. However, it is interesting that the importance of the pre-modern preface had not perhaps been totally forgotten then: *Teikoku Bunko* usually prints prefaces in large bold type relative to the original woodblock preface which is traditionally carved in large distinct script. It is the post-war and now most referred to anthologies, which force attention away from the preface, indicating modern views of the texts.

## II Role of illustration in representation of performance

Sanba's written text in *Yakusha sangai kyô* is an appendix; the "main text" is in fact the collection of actor prints by Toyokuni. We know from Sanba's preface that the *Sangai kyô* prints very much resembled those of the earlier *Natsu no fuji*. In other words *Sangai kyô*

---

32. Kern 1997, 165.

33. Hanan 1988, 77.

34. Ibid. 187-8.

can be called a “performance” upon *Natsu no fuji*, inviting the reader to recall, compare, and comment.

In her study of “audible” actor prints, Muto indicates how clues in actor prints offer the opportunity to imagine the voices and music implied by the certain actor print.<sup>35</sup> However, she confines her suppositions to that of silent recollection. I believe there is also room here for consideration of oral reproduction by the viewer/reader of this non-surface-present, memory-based text as with the memoria-type representation discussed above.

Sanba’s own one-sheet *Yakusha nigao ryakugashiki* makes the task even easier (that is, once we have solved the puzzle) by using simple illustration implying an actor’s face and role at which the reader must guess, and in whose style the reader should then perform the surrounding dialogue. Working across from top right sees Bandô Mitsugorô III as Sumo wrestler, Chôgorô in *Futatsu chôchô* performed in 6th month, Bunka 11; Iwai Hanshirô V (role unclear); Arashi Sangorô III on tour in Edo starring as Eishi in *Sekai no hana Sugawara denju no eishi* in 11th month, Bunka 11; Bandô Hikosaburô III surrounded by snippets of speech from *Chûshingura* in which he played his swansong role of Yuranosuke in 10th month, Bunka 10. Bottom right portrays Morita Kanya VIII who died in 2nd month, Bunka 11; Matsumoto Kôshirô V as an *akuyaku*, evil role; and Ichikawa Danjûrô VII.<sup>36</sup> Much would have been memoria-type information to the Edo reader, however, Sanba has posed a guessing game (*atemono*) by ending with a less well-known actor, Arao Kuzaemon I, an old man role-type actor who seems to have only appeared in Kamigata. [Figure 1, p. 39]

### Pictorial genre of *kibyôshi*

Due to the possibilities provided by the woodblock medium, illustration combined with written text was a major element in several genres of popular fiction.

The *maku no uchi shiryô* (inner curtain literature) of *ehon banzuke* made its debut outside the curtain (published by outside concerns) in the form of *akahon* booklets. The main pictorial genre of *gesaku* fiction by the turn of the 18th-19th centuries was the *kibyôshi*. (The family of genres is collectively known as *kusazôshi*.) *Kibyôshi* (yellow-covers) had evolved during the mid 18th century from short picture books for children, *kurohon* (black-books), which had developed in turn from *akahon* (red-books) and were scattered with short lines of speech and author’s comments. *Aohon* (blue-books) is the original genre name for the more

35. Muto 2001, 17.

36. Identified using contemporary actor print books and *Kabuki nenpyô*. Some extra help was given by Professor Iwata Hideyuki.

complex type. Storylines gradually became more intricate, and politicized among other things, as the genre turned to an adult readership.

It is easy to imagine how in particular the pictorial genre of *kibyôshi*, in its simplest form, can represent a stage-type performance. The typical *kibyôshi* page has a main narrative section at the top of the page and individual lines of dialogue below, near the corresponding figures. The narrative section usually has parts adhering roughly to the 5-7-5 meter. In this way, *kibyôshi*, in its layout and nature, was in fact an efficient means of representing the two parts of recited Jôruri, *ji* (narrative) and *kotoba* (speech). With its visual and verbal elements represented thus, we have an almost complete representation on the page of a stage-like scene. Many themes and characters were indeed taken from the theatre. Thus, in its simplest form, it is easy to see how the *kibyôshi* represents performance.

From early on Sanba seems to have been attracted to the idea of life “on stage”. One of the pair of his debut *kibyôshi* appearing in New Year 1794, *Ningen isshin nozoki karakuri* (A device for peeping into the human heart) took up the fashionable theme of Western devices, and invented a telescope with ethical potential.<sup>37</sup> Sanba uses the telescope like a pair of opera glasses, perusing the scene for a piece of performance to attract attention. The theme of the telescope’s revealing authenticity reoccurs in several works, such as *Pin to jômae kokoro no aikagi*, the only work which clearly shows Sanba’s juggling of the roles of writer/publisher, and Nishinomiya’s annoyance thereat: we peer into the heart of Sanba’s own *kibyôshi* publisher. So we see behind the performance, behind the scenes, as well. This is an example of *ugachi* (exposure) - but here confined to an illustrated circular lens, like a contained stage performance.

*Kibyôshi* generally had a poignant satirical element, which by Sanba’s day had gradually been rooted out by the samurai authorities. However, one work to catch the tail-end of their wrath was Sanba’s *kibyôshi*, *Kyan Taiheiki mukô hachimaki* (Spirited chronicle of the Great Peace in headbands) of 1799; more, it seems, because of the pandemonium it caused rather than its content. It is a parody on the mediaeval epic *Taiheiki* (Chronicle of the Great Peace), thinly disguising a topical incident. The previous year there had been a squabble at a festival between two brigades of fire-fighters. On the appearance of the *kibyôshi* one brigade stormed the houses of Sanba and the publisher, Nishinomiya Shinroku. This saw the leader

---

37. Screech 1996, 233.

put in prison, but also landed Sanba and Nishinomiya in manacles for 50 days. A temporary writing-ban was imposed upon Sanba.<sup>38</sup>

In Sanba's *kibyôshi*, a power fight between Emperors during the North-South period results in a familiar general from *Taiheiki* being ordered to round up an opposition army of fighting men – the fire-fighters. The battle that ensues is pictured scene by scene. Although the *kibyôshi* begins with “Shôsetsu su”, borrowing the fashionable opening words of a typical Chinese novel, we are soon conscious of being overtaken by theatricals. Written two years prior to the *gekisho*, *Yakusha sangai kyô* (in the same year as *Yakusha gakuya tsû*), *Kyan taiheiki* has already been noted as an early example of the use of Kabuki play conventions as a resource.<sup>39</sup> Each operation in the battle is divided into a scene using a particular device from the theatre repertoire. In this respect it foreruns Tanehiko's well-known *gôkan*, *Shôhon jitate* (Playscript-built) of 1815 in representing the raw Kabuki stage. In this way, illustration (by artist unknown) showing characters with play-like props, pantomime horses and scenery on wheels lulls the reader into imagining he or she is watching a stage. [Figure 8, p. 98]

However, as we turn to the final page and the narrative comes to a close, we are greeted by Sanba himself, pictured sitting on a dais, with a script and *hari ôgi* (rhythm stick) before him. A lantern to the side has written on it “Kyan Taiheiki mukô hachimaki”, and “Tarari rô Sanba, Professional orator” – in the way a *kôshaku* performer was accustomed to recite the real *Taiheiki*. Indicated by a quotation mark, he speaks (whilst pouring refreshment), switching to the deferential language of a story-teller addressing his audience, as if he has just been telling the story.<sup>40</sup> He says, “I am not good at telling stories, and I regret you will not have found this one interesting...” The volume ends with the onomatopoeic expression “ehen ehen” of Sanba clearing his throat in order to resume his story - the necessary “upbeat” to each Rakugo performance.<sup>41</sup> Thus, by way of this illustration we discover the performance, the legitimizing force, right at the end of the book. Now we might look back upon the story as if it had been related orally, mimicking and parodying scenes from a Kabuki play (a feat often done by story-tellers on stage). But Sanba, ironically, never performed before a public: “Seimoto yori setsuben” (He has always been ineloquent), Shinrotei, a pupil wrote about Sanba.<sup>42</sup> The performance had been an imaginary one all along.

---

38. *Kansei kibun*; entry for Kansei 11.

39. Hirose 2002, 2-3.

40. Admittedly, he imitates the pose of Kyôden at the close of his *Kannin bukuro ojime no zendama* of Kansei 5 (1793). However, Kyôden does not portray himself as having just told the preceding story.

41. Morioka 1990, 34. This effect has some resemblance to “Tôzai, tôzai” of Kabuki and Jôruri.

42. Postscript of *Ukiyoburo* IV (1813).



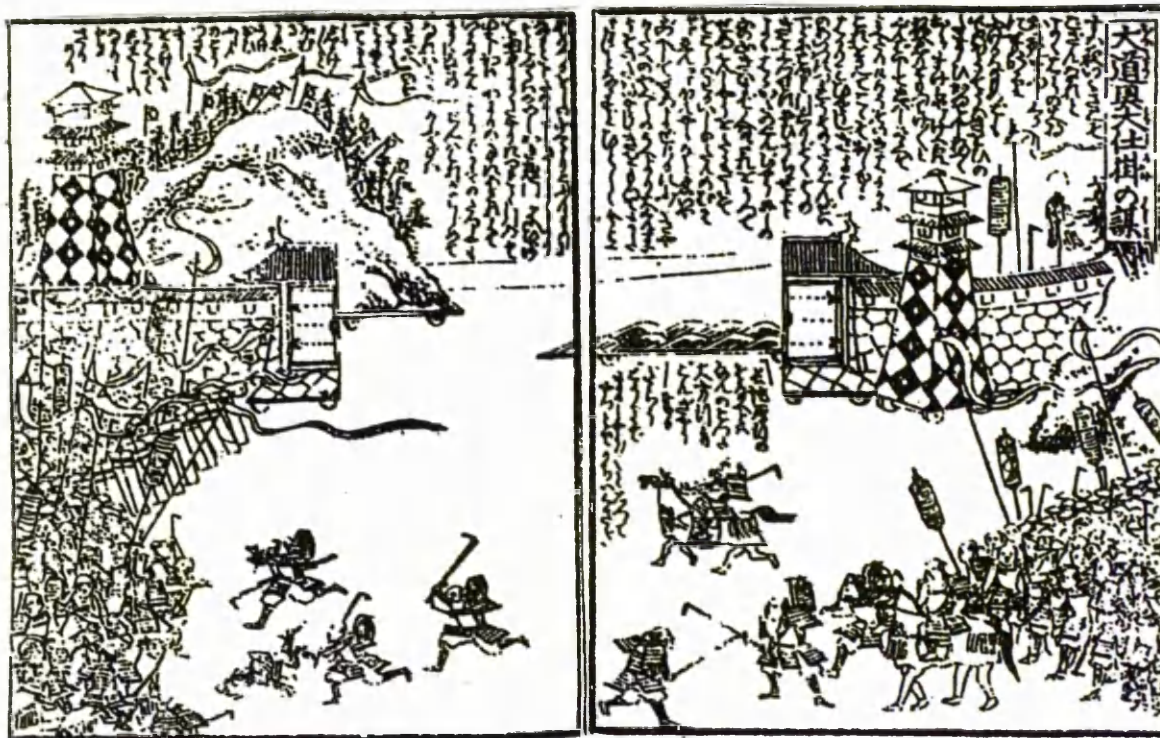


Figure 8. *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki*. 1799. (*Edo no gesaku ehon*). 9-10chô.



Figure 9. *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki*. 1799. (*Edo no gesaku ehon*). Last page.



Figure 10. *Kôshoku Ise monogatari*. 1686. British Library. 15chô u.

The actual “performance” or event to inspire this *kibyôshi* was the calamitous fire fighters’ incident, and this had been illustrated throughout the book in Kabuki fashion. [Figure 9]

In *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki* he borrows various theatrical-like elements, be it from Kabuki, *kôshaku*, Rakugo story-telling etc., and makes use of illustration for that purpose (towards which we can imagine he liaised closely with the artist). At the start we are even transported under pretence to the world of Chinese novel-writing/reading: the important thing being that the elements evoked in the reader’s mind a convention of some kind of performance, the multi-framing technique<sup>43</sup> adding extra intensity to this performative consciousness.

### **Pictorial/narrative genre of *gôkan***

Development of the *kibyôshi* format saw the author’s comments gradually become longer and narrative-like, and satire gave way to the vendetta theme. The change to the *gôkan* format (literally “combined volume” and initially comprising of three *kibyôshi* bound into one), came about through the separation of a main narrative text from the speech/comment (*kaki-ire*) within the illustration of the *kibyôshi*. Comments accompanying illustrations then took on a secondary role of adding humour or remarks not directly related to the narrative text. As May remarks, “the picture stories of the *gôkan* are immensely suitable for transposing the living world of the theatre from its visual impression into narrative prose, and so appealing to an extensive class of theatre fanatics-cum-potential readers”.<sup>44</sup> Although Sanba credits himself with creating the *gôkan* in his *Ikazuchi Tarô gôaku monogatari* (Tale of the villainous Ikazuchi Tarô) appearing in 1806, the term, literally “several volumes bound into one”, was used by Nansenshō Somabito to describe his own work of 1804.<sup>45</sup> It is, however, around 1806 that *gôkan* began to possess new features other than that of being a multi-bound *kibyôshi*.

Sakai has termed the relationship between the verbal and pictorial texts in Japanese fiction from the 18th century, referring presumably to the *kibyôshi* and *gôkan*, as Gestalt type, as it is impossible to extract the meaning of the whole text from either the pictorial or verbal text alone.<sup>46</sup> Sanba’s senior, Kyôden wrote that just looking at the pictures in a *gôkan*

---

39. Bauman’s analogy of concentric frames to describe a performance within performance, keyed by way of a conventionalized “signal that a particular act of expression is being performed” (Bauman 1977, 25).

44. May 1983, 117.

45. Sato Satoru 2001, 34.

46. Sakai 1991, 173.



was like watching a play in the deaf gallery.<sup>47</sup> The multi-linearity of a verbal and visual text meant that two events happening in one place could be described at the same time. So that in a *gôkan*, a secondary story that could not be told fully in the main written text, could be expressed through illustration, similar to the contrast of audio and visual elements on stage. Also, an attempt to represent movement on stage would account for some illustrations in Sanba's *gôkan* depicting events which do not occur simultaneously in the narrative.

Remarked on by Sato Yukiko, Sanba, when confined by page-space, sometimes instructs the reader in asides to look at the pictures to grasp the story-line, giving himself more opportunity in the main text to develop dialogue.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps this meant Sanba wished the reader to use the illustrations as aids to recreate his or her own narrative, or to act them out as shown. From around Bunka 8 (1811), *gôkan* in general began to feature actor likenesses in their illustrations. These provided further clues as to how to "read" the stories, perhaps which actors to mimic and which past performances to recall.

The main written texts of many of Sanba's *gôkan* hang together with symbols which guide us as to where to read from next. The main text can then weave round the illustrations. Although we shall see later that illustration often became separated from the narrative text in Sanba's *gôkan*, of relevance here is how sometimes the illustration was able to create a "visually noisy" scene by itself. Double-page illustrations containing speech-only insertions are, Sato states, a distinguishing feature of Sanba's *gôkan*,<sup>49</sup> and represent the intensity of a busy scene, as in *Mukashi gatari kama ga fuchi* (Old tale of the deep cauldron) of 1811.

[Figure 26A, p. 171]

These intermittent pages are similar to the overall format of an *e-iri kyôgenbon*, picture playbooks, which illustrate each stage scene and include short lines of dialogue next to the figures. They provide enough information to tell the story alone. In *Kama ga fuchi*, a boxed note within the main text of the page preceding the illustration informs the reader that the following narrative provides a background for the picture overleaf. In other words, we are given advice on how to interpret the visual scene. However, at the end of the section we are told to turn past the illustration for continuation of the main text. This type of illustration with its own speech insertions commanded a certain amount of independence from the main written text. Viewed in isolation, these illustrations, including Sanba's speech insertions, are expressive just to the eye.

---

47. Sato Yukiko 2001, 65.

48. Ibid., 62

49. Ibid., 40.

We return to one of the few books in Sanba's collection to have escaped the Bunka 3 (1806) fire: an *ukiyozôshi* of Jôkyô 3 (1686) by Sharakuken, *Kôshoku Isemonogari*.<sup>50</sup> An inscription dated Bunka 1 (1804) inside the cover tells us where Sanba purchased the book. Moreover, someone has written speech ("graffiti") by hand into one of the illustrations, although *ukiyozôshi* traditionally kept its words and pictures on separate pages. A man strikes up a conversation irrelevant to the story in the book, and not in keeping with the pseudo-*Ise* style of the written text. A lot of expressive signs are used to render Kamigata language of the woman and the abrupt speech of the man. This amusing altercation is very much like the sort we find in Sanba's *gôkan* and *chûbon gata kokkeibon* which appeared from 1806. Could this be Sanba circa 1804 experimenting with the use of script-based expression in dialogue to represent sounds, which was later to become his trademark? [Figure 10, p. 98]

### Sanba's lack of illustration

In their early years, Kyôden trained as an Ukiyo-e artist under the name of Kitao Masanobu, while Sanba learnt the publishing trade. Suzuki Jûzô has detected Kyôden's experience as an artist in the nature of the illustrations he has accompany his work, even if they are by another artist.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand Sanba must have observed how letters, rather than pictures, could be cut in wood in infinite ways, perhaps in his own father's work (his father was a distinguished woodblock carver). And since he married into a publishing house of serious literature he would have seen far more variety of written texts than pictorial ones. These, we saw, included the series of calligraphy manuals by Sawada Tôkô. These will prove significant facts vis à vis contrasting trends in Kyôden's and Sanba's later works. Sanba even presents himself in contrast to his senior, Kyôden; on the few occasions where he does have himself pictured in his work, he does so with a prominent nose opposed to Kyôden's pug one.

In Kyôden's *kibyôshi*, Togasaki demonstrates that pictures reach an equality of importance with language, but have an independent role: "The verbal text expresses an officially sanctioned viewpoint, while the picture states the author's anti-official conviction".<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, the trademark nose mentioned above represents Kyôden's mock humility through its association with his famous fictional character, Enjirô's obsessive *hankatsû*-ness – an example that visual text had become truly equal in capability to verbal

50. British library collection.

51. Suzuki 1979, 108.

52. Togasaki 1995, 12.

text.<sup>53</sup> This is not just a straightforward secondary text implied by picture, but one that carries an ulterior, deeper meaning. Sanba, we shall see, tends to voice his opinions through language, although in keeping with the times they gradually learn to be of a less political nature.

In contrast to Sakai's "Gestalt type" is the "Representational type", where verbal and pictorial texts remain autonomous. This could be used to describe *sharehon* and *chûbongata kokkeibon*, although both go unmentioned by Sakai in his theory of Gestalt/Representational type text.<sup>54</sup> Again, we shall see that pictorial texts are not just autonomous, but non-existent in much of Sanba's work.

Explanation for this would appear to date back to Sanba's *gekisho* period. The difference between Hachimonjiya's *katagimono* and Sanba's *gekisho*, which purport to imitate Hachimonjiya, was the lack of illustration in Sanba's *gekisho* relating to the text. It will be remembered that illustration did not feature, firstly, in *Yakusha gakuya tsû* due to restrictions upon the appended text which was subversive to the actor prints. Instead, Sanba begins to experiment with producing a written narrative text without visual (pictorial) aids. The process is developed further in *Yakusha sangai kyô*. In *Sangai kyô*, placenames are also connected with the theatre, such as Nezumi no kido no sekimori "Trapdoor barrier", Kirimaku no minato "Curtain port", Doma no okumi "Sea pit" Even a waterfall looks like a three-coloured waving cloth. Similar puns, though in pictorial form, were seen in Bakin/Toyokuni's *gekisho*, *Yakusha meisho zue* of the previous year. This work uses the *meisho zue* format ("illustrative guide to famous places") to portray puns (*mitate*) upon actors and the theatre within landscape scenery and in the simple guidebook-type explanations. Akama describes *Yakusha sangai kyô* in his introduction to *gekisho* of this period as a follower of *Yakusha meisho zue* and its *meisho zue* format. The big difference, however, between these two works, lies in the fact that Sanba does not rely on illustrations, but uses language to build the scene. This section of *Sangai kyô* could perhaps be described as *Yakusha meisho zue* "in words". Sanba puts Toyokuni-like images into words to form verbal *mitate*: he is forced thereby to produce a new prose style.

Sanba then took the prose style developed in his *gekisho*, *Yakusha gakuya tsû*, *Sangai kyô*, (*Shibai kinmô zui* includes illustrations although continues with the comic, wordy

---

53. Ibid., 180.

54. Sakai 1991, 173.

prose), and added further performance hints for a wider audience, to create his *kokkeibon* genre.

Sanba's prose compensates for the denial of illustration by stretching the boundaries in innovative ways in the use of linguistic signs (made possible because of the woodblock medium). One way involves the use of Kanji and glosses, the other, intricate signs to convey sounds. Although they begin life on the page as very visual elements, I shall demonstrate how they can be translated into performance in a way that view of the text is not a necessity for all participants and enjoyers.

### **Kanji as illustration**

As Ariga has commented in her study on glosses in general, "The tension created by the gap between the Kanji and rubi contexts creates a more complex semantic space, rendering the reading process more intriguing".<sup>55</sup> She also comments that the "rubi constantly create a secondary text",<sup>56</sup> however, at least in the case of Sanba it is the Kanji which work to compensate for the absent secondary text of illustration. It is as if the Kanji themselves become the *mitate* image. One way he does this is by conjuring up a different image through the use of a set of Kanji from an unrelated subject, for example Buddhist terminology in the preface of *Sangai kyô*, and creating a similar sounding compound or *double entendre* with the help of glosses. Direct enlightenment (*kyôge betsuden*) is attained, rather, according to the preface, through "Kyôgen betsuden". While the Buddhist priest, Hakuin offers salvation to the masses, Hakuin teaches them the way to watch and listen to plays (*kenbutsu monpô* – experience a visitation from Buddha).

How is this performable? Once the theme is hinted at, enough of the original Kanji and meaning are always detectable, suggesting these should be conveyed through a performed rendering of the text and imagined by the participators. Indeed, it would appear to be a mere change of a Kanji (Chikamatsu-ô: ô "old man [sage]" becomes ô "king") that works to create the whole story-line in *Yakusha sangai kyô*.

In the *Sangai kyô* text, the iconic sign of three concentric squares are glossed with "mimasu" and is used to denote Danjûrô. Sanba also glosses a picture of a nose with "hana". They have almost become Kanji. Kanji and pictures are not worlds apart. If the concentric squares can become a Kanji, then Kanji can just as easily become illustrations. This

---

55. Ariga 1989, 321.

56. Ibid., 334.

flexibility was already inherent in woodblock culture. We see hints of this in *gekisho* where Sanba is unable to rely on pictorial description. He uses Kanji as a sort of pictorial description. However, unlike illustrations, they can be described (designated) by a single sound by the reader, which is then imagined by all participants. Thus, “Mitate Kanji” lends itself to performance.

Sanba also wrote a book taken up with the idea of writing (Kanji and *kana*) as *mitate*, *Ono no bakamura usoji tsukushi* (Ono no Bakamura’s phoney dictionary; 1806). He even attempts to write *kana* to mimic the shape of Roman script written horizontally and from left to right, and provides a dialogue between the row of alien letters as they “shuffled along like brothel patrons”, following the popular pun on *oiran no monbi* (pleasure-quarter parade) and *Oranda moji* (Dutch letters).<sup>57</sup> The *mitate* work, *Ono no Bakamura* had precedents in works such as Kyôden’s *Komon gawa* (Elegant talk of dye patterns) and *Kimyô zui*, but again, with Kyôden, glossed symbols tend to be pictorial rather than calligraphic. In *Kimyô zui* (Illustrated dictionary of the strange) of 1803, Kyôden combines picture and letter by designing the word “oiran” to resemble an *oiran* (courtesan). This however can only be appreciated for its aestheticism, while Sanba, in reverse, uses an image to produce word designs that can be performed:

Ko: I don’t mind enjoying a bit of good honest poverty, but not rising too early, though. I was awakened by rodents.\* Scurrying all over the place, and there’s not a thing one can do.

Bin: Did Rodence come back drunk or something?

Ko: What is this fellow saying? Do rodents get drunk on wine? Hahaha...

Bin: Eh, I thought you meant Mr Rodence from across the street was the one scurrying around drunk.

Ko: What? “Rodents” is an alternative name for rats.

Bin: Eh, even rats have a fancy name, do they?<sup>58</sup>

[\**Karoku*: characters for “house” and “deer”. Written with different characters, personal name.]

We find this technique extended in *Ukiyodoko* (Barber’s shop of the floating world) Part 1 where a misunderstanding occurs between the lecturer in Confucianism, Kôfun, and the barber, Bingorô, due to the bumpkin scholar Kôfun’s sinofied language (which can be roughly conveyed in English through the intellectual gap sometimes implied by the use of Anglo-Saxon versus Latin-origin words). Common wordplay over two similar words becomes a “Gedankenwitz” as one considers its consequences.<sup>59</sup> The Kanji are used to

---

57. Screech 1996, 24

58. From *Ukiyodoko* Part 1. Trans. Cross 1998, 112.

59. Donath-Wiegand 1963, 87. This sharp mockery of the bumpkin scholar Kôfun has been suggested by Donath-Wiegand as the extent of “political-social” protest in Sanba’s writing as it linked to the current trend of *kanzen chôaku* inspired by Nationalism and Confucianism (Ibid., 96).

“illustrate” the humour. However, although the Kanji prompt the Gedankenwitz, unlike texts illustrated with real “illustrations”, it is not necessary for all enjoyers of/participants in the text to be looking at the physical text. The ability to signify through thought processes the connotations of Kanji without the Kanji necessarily being in front of the “reader” was a particular feature of Sanba’s, and one that added to the performative nature of his texts. The *mitate* exists in the realm of the performance.

Glossed Kanji in Sanba somehow take over from the role of illustration. These Kanji belong to the realm of performance as they are adequately signified verbally and then through thought processes.

Sanba was clearly fascinated with shapes that actually represented sounds, and the fun that could be had with them. This lack of illustration and its compensation by linguistic signs created another type of performance representation which Sanba was to develop but whose seeds we can detect in *Sangai kyô*.

The height of Sanba’s peculiarity (in terms of the conventions of popular fiction), namely lack of illustration (and its consequences), is found in his *kokkeibon*. It is significant that there are no illustrations within the main text of the *kokkeibon*, *Ukiyoburo* and *Kejô suigen maku no soto*. We shall see that description relies completely on the intensity of Sanba’s language combined with the variety of script and signs made possible by the woodblock medium. At last we come to Sanba’s most noted feat, that of rendering the intricacies of speech, dialect etc. However, what has hitherto been exalted as his trademark through reference to movable-type versions has been only a relatively small part of Sanba’s real achievement. This next category of performance representation I have called “transcriptional-type” representation, because it seeks to transcribe every element of performance.

### **III Transcriptional-type representation: Orthographical design and calligraphic expression through woodblock**

#### **Rakugo story-telling in comic fiction : Rendering mannerisms of speech**

Mitamura relates developments in Sanba’s *kokkeibon* directly to the oral arts and speculates whether Sanba, the dedicated (though sometimes reluctant) follower of trends, during the period between *Namaei katagi* (1806) and *Ukiyoburo* (1809), did not purposefully refrain from using as stimulus the basic character-type mimicry of *ukiyo monomane*, in favour of the recently formalized *otoshi banashi* (Rakugo storytelling) and its more intricate

style.<sup>60</sup> Young goes so far as to call a piece of fiction the “negative” of a, perhaps, lost, oral art.<sup>61</sup> Though purporting to handle 19th century Rakugo, his thesis gives more of an account of *kokkeibon*. Yet even a piece of fiction inspired by Rakugo never remains as Rakugo. In *kokkeibon*, or *gesaku* in general, as I have already demonstrated, the performance medium can turn into Kabuki, for example, at the clack of a stage clapper, or vice versa, at the cough of a story-teller. This is the beauty of fiction over one specific oral art.

*Ukiyoburo* has been previously cited by Leutner as an example of Sanba’s particular interest in the recording of the spoken word and its various manners of speech, dialects etc. in order to portray scenes from everyday life in Edo Japan. Particularly in Sanba, glosses are maximally used to record fine dialectical variation in the dialogues.<sup>62</sup> For example, in the opening scene, various sounds are introduced from different directions: the cawing of crows, the call of a fermented soybean seller, the crackling of fires burning in houses. Double lines of script provide explanation, and single-line script, the sounds themselves. The sign “*hiku*” (meaning to pull, or extend) written under the word *nattô* (fermented soybean), lengthens the sound, and is a device taken from, and usually only found in, Jôruri chanting texts. We can imagine, then, the chant-like call. The next two sets of double lines describe the character, Butashichi, who has entered on the scene. Small script to the side of the main text indicates the meaning, or what he was meaning to say, as the main text represents the sounds Butashichi, who has a speech impediment, actually made. [Figure 11B\*, p. 108]

Butashichi: Oy, n-no’ open ye’? Wha’? You s-still sleepin’, ya lazy goo’-fer-nuffin’? (*Muttering to himself he goes up to the entrance and shouts in a loud voice,*) M-m-manager, ge’ u’!

When Butashichi calls the bathhouse manager, *Bantôsan*, he says *Banbantsan*. [\*\*] To represent the sound “tsa”, not usually rendered in Japanese script, Sanba uses a circle next to the usual way of writing “sa”, and gives an explanation of how to pronounce it in the preface. These were in fact used before by Sanba in *Ehon imayô sugata* (Illustrated images of present day) of 1802, but first seen in Shinrotei’s *sharehon* of the Kansei period (1790s).<sup>63</sup> This and another sign created by Sanba, thought to differentiate between a hard and a nasalised “g” sound, are used later on in *Ukiyoburo* to render the dialect of travellers from the Western provinces. Examples of “G” line of *kana* written in outline is first seen in Sanba’s 1806-prefaced *sharehon*, *Itako bushi* (The hearts of women from Itako), but this was

60. Mitamura 1976, 155-7.

61. Young 2003, 119.

62. Leutner 1985, 105.

63. Tanahashi 1994, 193.

published posthumously. A detailed analysis exists on this by Tanahashi, whose new (but not entirely conclusive) theory contends that the outline indicates a vowel change rather than hard or soft voiced “g”, due to its unsystematic use.<sup>64</sup> Whatever the case, Sanba’s language has long been a focus of scholars of linguistics in piecing together a picture of Edo dialect.

We can only commiserate that “Zokugo benran”, a dictionary of colloquial sayings that Sanba intended to compile and that was advertised in Yorozuya’s backlist catalogue in around 1800, never appeared. Yet the potential dictionary suggests an interest on Sanba’s part from early on in spoken language.

### **Revelation of speed and timing in woodblock**

We turn from Sanba’s well-known expertise to his lesser known one, though we find it present in the same work and in the same section. On the first page of the main text of *Ukiyoburo* alone there are several methods of representing oral elements in detailed form distinctive to Sanba’s writing. Those mentioned above, such as the use of non-standard symbols and left-and-right glosses, have been rendered, though doubtless not without difficulty, in modern movable type. My analysis of this text refers directly to the woodblock printed edition. [Figure 11A★]

Immediately we see different size and length lettering. Reading downwards from the right, the overlapping sideways “V” shaped signs are ditto marks for the repeated cawing of crows, yet in type these have each been transcribed individually and occupy several times more space. The penultimate line has Butashichi call out to the bathhouse manager in yet another variation on his name, “Bantan”. Before this are four stuttered “ko” sounds in small script, squeezed into a space half that of “Bantan.” [◆]

This would suggest that the stutter is intended to be softer and quicker than the following call to the bathhouse manager, though in type the stutter actually takes up twice the room (due to the transcribing of the intermittent commas). In the original the “ko” are written staggered down the page, perhaps suggesting change side to side in direction of utterance as he tries hard to emit what he wants to say (we can imagine a Rakugo raconteur performing this in exaggerated fashion). In contrast, another stuttering outburst sees the repeated *kana* of his stutter written over and over again in deliberately chosen complex cursive *kana*, where it would suffice to use the usual *kana* ditto mark of a single short stroke. This echoes/compliments the intended laboriousness of the stutter itself in this particular section.

---

64. Tanahashi 1999, 36-46.





Physical space would appear to represent speed and timing (and perhaps direction), whereas all such clues have been lost or distorted in the uniform modern typed version.

Interestingly, the sharpness of these ideas had been made slightly vague in the second woodblock edition of *Ukiyoburo* (the blocks of the first burnt in a fire soon after initial publication, and the blocks were recarved by taking a tracing from a printed copy; the technique known as *kabuse bori*).<sup>65</sup>

### Kanji glosses

We have seen how “glossed Kanji” took over the role of illustration. Conversely, Sanba also made use of “Kanji glosses” to explain unusual *kana* usage. By “Kanji glosses” I mean small Kanji appended to lines of *kana* script. Glossed Kanji to the right, as with normal *furigana* (glossed readings), are found in *sharehon* such as Shinrotei’s *Inaka shibai* of Tenmei 7 (1787) to elucidate provincial dialect rendered in *kana* in the main lines of text. Sanba goes one step further, placing these Kanji glosses on the left to clarify meaning, so as not to confuse with *kana* glosses written on the right giving the standard pronunciation. An early example of this is found in his own *sharehon*, *Tatsumi fugen* of Kansei 10 (1798), to explain Fukagawa pleasure-quarter dialect. The technique is also responsible for the jumble of signs that is Butashichi’s dialogue on the opening page of *Ukiyoburo* of Bunka 6 (1809).

Kanji glosses and this special type of *furigana*, then, help to “translate” the tortuous speech of characters with strong dialects, speech defects, or who, for example, deliberately distort their speech for superstitious reasons. The Superstitious Drunk (Katsugi Jôgô), the first caricature in *Namaei katagi* (1806), cannot bear to hear the inauspicious sound “shi” in any context, as it is the word for “death”. “Shi” is also the Chinese reading for the character for “four”. He makes a laboured attempt to replace every “shi” with the Japanese reading for “four”, “yon” or “yo”, and insists that the other members of his household follow suit:

What’s that you said? You said, “A Happy new Year to Master Shirobei of Shirakoya’s at Shibashin Gate on Shinmichi Street”? Listen hear, now, *Yon* [Shin] kichi. I’m not usually superstitious. However, I did tell you never to say the word “shi” when you come back drunk – what do you think you’re doing? Even more so at the New Year. When I call your name, I don’t say Shinkichi. Don’t I call you *Yonkichi*? Here! Goshinzo (wife), no, I mean *Goyonzo*, tell him from me. I told you, too, to think carefully before opening the door, but what happened to that, then? Did I or did I not tell you to say, “A Happy New Year to master *Yoro* [Shiro] bei of *Yoro* [Shiro] koya’s at *Yobayon* [Shibashin] Gate on *Yon* [Shin] michi Street?

---

65. The only known complete extant copy of the first edition is now in Tenri University Library, and is reproduced in facsimile in Jinbo 1978.

The exchange of “yon” or “yo” for every “shi” creates nonsense. This example illustrates the use of unpronounced Kanji glosses to explain unusual *kana* usage. However, purposeful repetition and explanation within the monologue make it possible for multiple participants to access the humour without having a view of the written text.

Bakin, in his *yomihon*, places the reading to a string of Kanji to the right, then a Japanese “translation” to the left: “Such glosses ...are consistent with Japanese practice and therefore surprisingly unobtrusive”, writes Leutner.<sup>66</sup> *Kanbun* reading-aids and the glosses placed left and right in Sanba’s *kokkeibon* however, serve different ends. Timing is not quite so crucial in *kanbun*-text reading. Although they would normally be read out loud, *kanbun* texts are more for study and analysis. The fact that all these glosses *are* obtrusive within fiction, forms the particular way of reading that Sanba presumably intends. Information is thrown at us from both sides of the main text as we read it: we slow down our reading pace to take it all in, and we create, for example, the hesitant and slurred sounds of Butashichi (In contrast, we saw his stutter rendered small for quick utterance). Surprisingly, then, this multi-framing does not hinder performance, but aids it.

### Textual signifiers

The dense and rounded script of a Jôruri *maruhon* is somehow synonymous with the tortuous twisting and rounding of the mouth of the *gidayû* chanter. Even Barthes, committing an immense cultural leap, perceives how the chanter’s “role is to *express* the text (as one might squeeze a fruit)”.<sup>67</sup> The distinctive features of Jôruri performance are inherent in its writing style. Perhaps a fact too obvious to state, this notion has remained unconsidered and undeveloped in scholarship. I have applied it to fiction, with interesting results.

In fiction, the way of writing reflects the character portrayed. The more impeded the characters are, the crazier the script gets; the more eccentric they are, the stranger the shapes seem. Confucianists speak in regimented <sup>icised</sup> ~~sinified~~ language, communicated by strings of square, weighty Kanji, exemplified by the speech of Kôfun in *Ukiyodoko* Part I.

In one scene, the fastidious bumpkin scholar, whose name means “Confucius’ excrement”, tries to read the names written on a poster on the wall of the barber’s shop

---

66. Leutner 1985, 106.

67. Barthes 1982, 48.

advertising a Rakugo story-telling event. He unknowingly gives *Ima mukashi monogatari* and Hayashiya Shôzô Chinese readings, “Konseki butsugo” and “Rinoku Seizô” and has trouble with the word for, and meaning of, a one-man show: the Barber, Bingorô explains that “hachinin gei” is an act by a blind man (mekura) performing eight roles by himself. Kô replies with, “Do ‘visually impaired’ people (môjin) really manage to do eight feats at once? With both my eyes I can barely do one”. Denbô, a customer, stops him in his tracks as he proceeds to bore them with overseas customs, “Forget China – all the storytellers in Edo are great”. [Figure 12A, p. 108]

The character types in the example above are represented in script as well as language. (Satirically) stiff Kanji with (mistaken) Chinese readings echo the pompous Kô [■]; the intermittent lines of straightforward flowing *kana* and more cursive Kanji represent the barber Bin as an easy-to-understand, ordinary sort of chap [●]. Lively lines for Den suggest he’s a bit of a trouble-maker [▲]. This can all be seen in the woodblock text. In other words, Kô “talks” in square script, while the barber, Bin, and customer, Den, in more cursive forms: for example, the Kanji for *mekura/môjin* and *hachiningei* noticeably appear in *kaisho* (block script) in Kô’s dialogue, and in *gyôsho* (semi-cursive script) in that of Bin.

Kô knows nothing about everyday language and culture, continuing in this section to accuse the barber and fellow customer of talking in a muddle of Japanese and Chinese pronunciations. Following the discussion of vaudeville theatre, he proposes the word *hanashi-ka*, story-teller, to be incorrectly pronounced. Mayhem ensues as Den and Bin ridicule Kô’s language, and use the opportunity for some punchlines. Kô-style Kanji and *on-yomi* (Chinese readings) break the flow of *kana* and *kun-yomi* (Japanese readings) in Bin and Den’s speech, and their imitations of his type of words stand out mockingly, as sensed particularly in the marked examples in the woodblock. [Figure 12B]

**Den:** IN THAT CASE LET’S STOP SAYING STORY-TELLER AND SAY STORY-TELL-ist.

**Bin:** But this half-learned fool wants to stick “-ist” onto everything!

**Kô:** He who talks a lot should be an orationist, and one who eats too much a gourmandist or a gastronomist. [★]

**Den:** IF YOU CALL A HEAVY DRINKER A BAR-FLY, THEN HE’S SURE TO BE A NUISANCE COME SUMMER!

**Kô:** That is precisely what I mean by confusing Chinese and Japanese pronunciation. A drinker should be a sake-izer, and a sake inn a sake-ist’s.

**Bin:** Ah, but if a sake shop becomes a sake-ist’s, should a beancurd seller be a beancurd-ist’s?

**Den:** A LANTERN SELLER SHOULD BE A LANTERN-ist’s AND A RICE-CRACKER SELLER A RICE-CRACKER-ist’s. [◆]

**Bin:** But if you called someone who rides horses CAVALIER he’d get angry, no doubt!

**Den:** IF YOU CALL A PERSON WHO SMELLS A SCENT A TOILET-WATERER, THEN, WELL, THAT SOUNDS DISGUSTING!

**Kô:** It is intolerable to have to listen to such things!

To convey this best in translation in Roman type I have learnt from 20th century Western “Concrete poetry”, and have selected typefaces which express a message beyond the semantic meaning of the conversation. For example, Kôfun’s archaic speech is given a Gothic script, Bingorô’s everyday language a handwriting style, and Denbô, a more animated one. Parts where they mimic Kô, such as the suffixes, I have used typeface to suggest this.

For us, the sudden shift to Kanji-ridden square script complete with intricate glosses makes us imagine we are reading a *kanbun* text, thus we put on a serious, studious air. What we read may only be Kô’s mistaken Chinese pronunciations of story-tellers’ names, but more the funnier. We are encouraged to render whatever we see in the fashion implied by the script.

In this case the identity behind the actual calligraphy hand is irrelevant; rather it is the nature of the script inherent to the chosen words which is important. It might also be thought that view of the text was indispensable in understanding these highly involved examples. I argue that the method of reading was responsible for communicating as far as each Kanji gloss, and that the composition structure laid down in woodblock gave all the clues necessary to the performer for successful conveyance to his audience/co-participants.

A further example of script-based signs at work in text appears in the monologue of the Tedious drunk (Kudoi jôgô) in *Namaei katagi* of 1806. Within the illustration by Toyokuni that introduces the character, it has, “Saying, ‘You’ve heard what I’m telling you?’, he repeats the same thing over, and is the type to bore those around him”. Even Sanba, then, admits that he has been so successful in portraying this character that the reader runs the risk of reproducing the tedium too well. How do we prevent our “performance” of this fellow being equally as tiresome? The clues lie before us in the woodblock.

The tedious drunk latches onto the theme of “Ningen wazuka gojûnen” (We only get fifty years) - a saying implying, “Life is short”. The talk gets tedious as he repeats numerous times that “you only get fifty years to live and only twenty of those years are enjoyable.” In fact he utters “fifty years” fifteen times, and “twenty years”, 9 times. What is remarkable is that every time “fifty years” and “twenty years” feature in this text they are written in a different way. They are written in *kaisho* (square lettering), *gyôsho* (semi-cursive script), *sôsho* (cursive script) and *kana*, alternative Kanji, and in combinations and variants thereof. What is this signaling/representing?<sup>68</sup>

---

68. Appendix III includes a translation of the whole of “The Tedious Drunk”, and an example of script from part of the woodblock version [Figure 36A, p. 239].

It was, and is, considered good practice in calligraphy to vary the way of writing something which is repeated. Thus we find title labels (*daisen*) on the different volumes of a book written in Kanji, *kana*, a mixture of the two, and sometimes actually changing the degree of cursiveness of the script. Although primarily an aesthetic requirement in the rules of calligraphy, we can understand how it might help retain the reader's attention. Taking the idea a step further, we can see the custom of new script each time signifying a clean change of thinking, perhaps a new approach to an old word. Relating this to the expressive value of woodblock might be on the way to rediscovering lost Edo calligraphic meaning.

In this way, I believe, in the example of the "Tedious drunk", the repetition asks for varied, fresh pronunciation each time appropriate to the style inferred by the certain script. The different ways of writing the same words are, perhaps, developed from memory cues which recall a specific way of reading/performing each time.

Script, I suggest, alludes to the type of situation where it is usually seen, in the same way that rounded lettering "equals" Jôruri. The Sawagi jôge (Noisome drunk) and Shaberi jôge (Chatterbox drunk) even chant "rounded script" within their monologues. Different scripts can amalgamate in fiction to various effect, for example, in The Tedious drunk:

1. Square, grand script is usually identified with *kanbun* (Chinese) texts. Reading *kanbun* is an act of translation (Chinese to Japanese), and would be carried out with deliberation and solemnity.
2. In abbreviated Kanji (e.g. no top line on the character *go*, "five"), of the sort found in personal letters, we sense familiarity and convention. We could perhaps afford a casual, throw-away line here.
3. Affected cursive style (i.e. using more strokes than originally in the Kanji, as one such cursive style for "nen", "year"), or the use of non-standard Kanji for no apparent reason, somehow demands slightly awkward pronunciation.

The penultimate 4 "fifty years" said by the Tedious Drunk are noticeably repetitive in style after the flawless variation up until then. They are all written in *kaisho* (square: "FIFTY"), suggesting they should be performed uniformly; tedium is setting in for real,



indicating it might be high time for the monologue to come to a conclusion. Whereupon, with a bang appears a dynamic cursive “fifty” (“*fifty*”) which should be performed in an appropriately animated way:

If you don’t drink the happenings of FIFTY years will be of greatest harm to your health. So that’s why I d’d’drink. I drink and I drink. Well, today I’ve already had 364 pennies-worth of side-dishes and a 250-penny bottle at another public house. Even though I drink it doesn’t have any effect on me. If I hadn’t made myself drink I wouldn’t have made it this far. We have just FIFTY years to enjoy. Just FIFTY years. (*A ditty*) ♪ Ohh, FIFTY years when I don’t stay up drinking... Oi, oi, old wife – don’t sit there so serious. Oh, we get *fifty* years.<sup>69</sup>

Surely this type of text can only be accurately translated into English by the use of fonts that convey a roughly similar message. The fifty/twenty diversity is but one of the woodblock messages active in this text, but the only example highlighted here for sake of clarity.

Similarly, Butashichi’s character in *Ukiyoburo* might be more accurately portrayed (as it is in manic woodblock rendition) through the use of a crazy font, such as Curlz, than bland Times. It is sufficiently difficult to read, and makes the tongue curl, which is possibly the cause of Butashichi’s own stutter. This passage, quoted earlier in this chapter in Times font, suddenly “comes to life”.

**Butashichi:** Oy, n-no’ open ye? Wha? You s-still sleeeepin’, ya lazy goo’-fer-nuffin’? (*Muttering to himself he goes up to the entrance and shouts in a loud voice,*) ‘M-m-ma’ner, g’e’ u’!

The way the script is presented provides clues to the reader as regards character type in a similar way, I argue, to illustration in pictorial genres, and, as a consequence, gives ideas for re-enactment. Thus, the nature of the writing itself offers signs, which we find at least dulled in standard movable-type Japanese. These signs I have also attempted to describe in English through innovative translation techniques.

I have assumed Sanba had some input over the calligraphy used in creating the clean copy (hanshita) for *Namaei katagi*. In Chapter 2, I suggested that the acquisition of the Sawada Tōkō calligraphy series was most likely a Sanba initiative. These blocks changed hands many times between publishers, as indicated by the number of different extant colophons, so they were obviously sought-after items. We find many copies of volumes from

---

69. Appendix III (p. 236) for full translation of the Tedious Drunk’s soliloquy, and explanation for choice of English fonts.

the series bearing the Yorozuya catalogue, “Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku”, telling us they were quite possibly published from Yorozuya during Sanba’s time there.

The calligraphy series appears to enter into his possession around 1800. The next year we see a frontispiece in *Yakusha sangai kyô* containing *reisho* (grass-style script), an idea copied later in *Namaei katagi* where it is acknowledged as Sanba’s calligraphy. It is also from around this date that we begin to see a multitude of seals belonging to Sanba which use the *tensho* (seal script), many of which are displayed in *Kyôka kei* of 1803 [Figure 2C, p. 47] The titles *Reisetsu* and *Tensetsu* for learning these respective styles can be found in the catalogue; a copy of the latter, bearing Yorozuya’s colophon, exists in the Nakano Mitsutoshi collection.

The more frequently imprinted titles, however, are *Kaisho*-, *Gyôsho*- and *Sôsho senjimon*, copy-books for learning square, semi-cursive and cursive hands. Negatively-printed (white script on black backgrounds) to assist tracing exercises, each has identical content written in the different styles. *Namaei katagi* appeared in New Year 1806, the time of Sanba’s departure from Yorozuya after 6 years working with these blocks. If not actually practising the calligraphy exercises himself, he may well have become perceptive of different writing styles and their uses.

An interesting item in the Nakano collection is *Tôkô sensei sôsho senjimon* (1000 cursive characters by Tôkô-Sensei), which has had appended to it a copy of the Yorozuya catalogue which has been re-carved in part to show Sanba’s Yokkaichi address. This marks the period of 3 months after New Year, 1806, whilst he was head of a small, separate concern. Except, as remarked upon by Professor Nakano, Sanba has stuck the wrong book label on the front of this *gyôsho* book in his collection. (The label reads “sôsho” [cursive script], but the content of the book is “gyôsho” [semi-cursive]).

### ***Hanashibon***

It is unclear how much of *Ukiyoburo* is an elaborate transcription of the story told on that evening of Rakugo, or a representation of an imagined performance. We can, however, suppose that Karaku made attempts to voice various sounds whilst telling his “Bathhouse” story in an amusing way, and that Sanba’s *Ukiyoburo* renders at least some of them. Another type of fiction, the *hanashibon*, consisted of written texts of *hanashi* (oral stories), tales of the bathhouse among them, but as a genre it lacked the devices seen here, being composed of large lines of text only: the bare script of the story. Any amateur attempting to reproduce



orally the stories of a *hanashibon* would need substantial imagination and ability of his or her own.<sup>70</sup>

Sanba himself advertises works such as *Yakusha sangai kyô* as “yomihon” (inside the front cover of a *kibyôshi*, *Shikitei Sanba unubore kagami* of the same year) and also *Ukiyoburo* (in the advertisements appended to another of his *kokkeibon*, *Hayakawari mune no karakuri* of 1810). This “real” *yomihon*, literally “a book for reading” and separate from the 19th century semi-serious genre of that name, is simply the opposite in the process of creating a *hanashibon*. *Hanashibon* is a collection of *hanashi*, a memorabilia from a story-telling performance, and as such, only a tentative genre of fiction. It possesses neither memoria type (though is memorabilia) or transcriptional type qualities as it is a straightforward recording of words without an allusive dimension or performance detail. Meanwhile, real *yomihon*’s purpose, as we have seen, memoria or transcriptional type, is to create new performance. That is not to say a *hanashibon*’s secondary function could not be for re-enactment. Stemming from performance, yet it has not been metamorphosed into another form and remains a record of a performance text, not the performance itself. A fuller discussion of *yomi*, *hanashi*, *yomihon* and *hanashibon* will be conducted in Chapter 5.

*Namaei katagi*’s preface has us believe that Sanba wrote this work as a script (*daihon*) for the artist of mimicry (*ukiyo monomane*), Sakuragawa Jinkô. The completed work, though, is undoubtedly more than the script offered to Jinkô. It provides the reader with various information necessary to reproduce a performance in the style of Jinkô. We are even encouraged to imagine his performance while reading (performing ourselves). So, by the time it hit the market it had been transformed into a set of comprehensive instructions for a “DIY Jinkô”. In mentioning how popular fiction retained oral elements, particularly in the exact representation of speech, Kornicki cites the example of Sanba and his *Namaei katagi*, in which Sanba provides readers with close instructions for reading alone or reading aloud in company to get the full feel of the personalities and moods of the speakers.<sup>71</sup> Yet *Namaei katagi* is a special example and not typical of the *kokkeibon* genre in general. It is more a manual of “how to re-create Jinkô” rather than re-creating the characteristics of drunkards. Following the clues contained in the diverse script will presumably lead the reader to approach Jinkô’s colourful performance.

---

70. Drake describes *hanashibon* as the foundation for the *kokkeibon* (Shirane 2002, 748), however it is the *hanashi* themselves (or equivalent performance) which inspired the *kokkeibon*.

71. Kornicki 1998, 266.

The actual performance notes (*daihon*) given to Jinkô by Sanba is more likely to have been along the lines of a double sheet spread (*nimai gumi*) written by Sanba, published by Kagaya Isaburô, as early as Kansei 10 (1798), entitled *Suichû shirinsen* (Under the influence: know-nothing notes).<sup>72</sup> In this comic piece of prose we find the prototypes for the character-types, Naki jôgô and Haratatsu jôgô (Weepy drunk and Irritable drunk). Also, previous use of the idea of “Ningen wazuka gojûnen”, here parodied as “Ningen wazuka goshôdaru” (We only get fifty barrels). Thus, on the face of it confined to the *kibyôshi* and *sharehon* genres at this time, Sanba was here already experimenting with creating the performable character-type monologue. In *Suichû shirinsen* we do not yet see conscious/significant use of innovative script.

*Hanashibon* were regularly produced as a result of story-telling meetings which we know Sanba and his contemporaries attended as audiences to the professional story-tellers. It is noteworthy that, among his contemporaries, Sanba alone wrote no *hanashibon*. In a *hanashibon* called *Edo kishô* (Jolly laughs of Edo) of 1806, overseen and prefaced by Sanba but actually written by his pupils, Sanba remarks in the preface that although he had always enjoyed listening to Rakugo, he had not felt inclined to write stories himself. He evidently preferred the greater potential for representing performance offered by the *kokkeibon* genre, combined with the possibility for orthographic and calligraphic design in the woodblock<sup>73</sup>.

His pupil Shinrotei notes:

He has always been ineloquent, and is clumsy at social talk. Therefore people describe him as uninteresting and even as someone with nothing to say.<sup>74</sup>

It would appear that Sanba himself had no talent for speaking. This could explain his fascination with, and reliance on, those who were accomplished at it. As his debut as Shôzô in 1815, Hayashiya Shôzô distributed a pamphlet which had actually been written by Sanba, called *Hayashiya monogatari*.<sup>75</sup> This is incorporated into the *Otoshi banashi chûkô raiyû*, a scrap-book of “things” Rakugo, such as inscribed fans and surimono, compiled, and commentated upon by Sanba in 1813.<sup>76</sup> Sanba obviously enjoyed the story-telling arts, and had great respect for the professionals.

---

72. A copy has been preserved in *Nishizawa Ippô harikomi chô* (Nishizawa Ippô album) in the Waseda Theatre Museum.

73. Sanba's contribution to *za no bungei* came in the shape of sponsorship of *shogakkai*, calligraphy and painting events, thanks again perhaps to instruction from the Tôkô series.

74. *Ukiyoburo* Part IV (1813), postscript.

75. Transcribed in Ebara 1980; trans. Young 2003.

76. Diet Library collection.

Sanba himself wrote:

Speaking usually does one dishonour.  
Imagine the fool of a pupil who is laughed at because he is inarticulate.<sup>77</sup>

For one who studied in an environment of *hanashi*, Sanba shows surprising hostility to the whole concept. Perhaps we can detect here recollections of his humiliating experiences when studying under Enba, to discover very quickly that he himself was no orator. He was, however, very much in awe of those proficient at it. He was inspired by their skills to recreate their performances through words and symbols on the page. The result was not *hanashibon*, but *kokkeibon*.

Timing makes or breaks an oral performance. Through Sanba's appreciation of (if not personal expertise at) story-telling, we may assume that a faithful reading of all the clues provided in the woodblock text of the *kokkeibon* will (re-)produce a successful performance when read out loud. A practical analysis of this will be conducted in Chapter 5.

Sanba does not make extensive use of illustrations in his *kokkeibon*. Instead, character types are "illustrated" by the sketches painted through dialogue, a skill Sanba is most renowned for and which has been well documented to date. Not only this, I argue. Characters are also "illustrated" in the way the writing *looks*. Fiction is full of signs. In the same way that we accept that if we see lines written in the rounded script of Jôruri or *uta* we should at least imagine chanting or singing, or even better give a rendition ourselves, I suggest the choice of Kanji, *kana* and the way they are written, provides the best type of clues for creating an enjoyable reading performance.

---

77. *Kakusha hyôbanki* (1810), postscript by Sankô.

## **Chapter 4 : Transcriptional-type representation**

### **I Orthographic and calligraphic design in woodblock II Kabuki theatre in comic fiction : Rendering of stage effects**

The authorship and publishing of several theatre books stood Sanba in good stead for incorporating theatrical elements into the later *kokkeibon* genre. *Kejô suigen maku no soto* (Theatre-style outside the curtain) of 1806 is another *kokkeibon* similar in format to *Ukiyoburo*, also made up of conversation written in large script, and intermittent narrative/descriptive passages in double lines. It centres on the amusing conversation and activities of members of the audience during a day at the Kabuki theatre. It doubles as a theatre guide by explaining theatre conventions to visitors from the provinces, while senior members of the audience tell tales of the good old days.

In fact it takes on the form of a performance taking place in the auditorium, borrowing theatre sounds and rhythms from the (background) stage performance to fit its own sequence of events. For example, in the middle of a dialogue we hear the clacks of wooden clappers which usually sound during a performance at opportune moments. Although it is unclear what the main play on stage actually is, we can rely on Sanba, the theatre connoisseur, to have considered the conventions and crucial timing carefully. He even uses the announcements section (*kôjô*) of the play on stage to advertise goods for sale at the shop of his senior, Kyôden, mimicking the conventional language and style of stage announcements.

The diversity in representing verbal text made possible by the woodblock is exemplified well in the penultimate two pages of *Kejô*. The larger rounded script in the centre of the first page (far right) resembles the type of script found in Jôruri chant books and is an excerpt from a play, here delivered by a member of the audience, (with additional stuttering indicated). The script on the next page borrows the distinctive comma-like marks of a songbook, which suggest a melody by their angle, length and position. The intermittent scripts are the usual single lines indicating dialogue, and double lines for explanation or narrative. Thus, four types of script feature on just two pages, each providing different connotations and clues to its intended way of reading. **[Figures 13A and B, p. 122]**

The adoption of theatre convention is carried out to every last detail. At the very end of the text, where at the close of the day at the theatre it would be announced, “Today’s programme is over”, here it says, “The first volume is over.” Where at the theatre it would be announced, “More to come, early start tomorrow,” here “early” has been exchanged for

“sequel” and the meaning becomes “Sequel out soon”. The script that follows represents the onomatopoeic sounds of the *shagiri* – the characteristic slow drum beats, and then the fast tapping on the side of the drum signaling the end of a curtain at the theatre. The drum beat pattern represented is slow (*doron doron dorodoro doron* – the curved lines being ditto marks), followed by fast smaller drum taps (*karakarakara* – to be repeated 5 times). Speed is carefully represented here by the long ditto marks for slow, low drum beats, and the overlapping squashed-together ditto marks for the fast drum taps. [Figure 13C]

However, if you look at the modern-typed version of the same passage where all the ditto marks have been printed the same size, the speed patterning has been lost. This illustrates well the advantages of the woodblock print medium over movable type for representing non-verbal elements of performance. [Figure 13D]

We saw timing communicated more exactly to the reader with reference to the woodblock in relation to Rakugo-influenced *kokkeibon*. Timing in general is an integral part of any performance, yet has remained largely in the realm of the unwritten performance text, thus fluid and difficult to ascertain in modern times. Brandon explains the sounds of *shagiri* from modern Kabuki performance examples by using a series of dots (size and distance apart indicating loudness and frequency respectively).<sup>1</sup> Sanba represents them equally well with his animated markers dispersed within lines of text. Presumably Sanba had in mind a specific or typical performance when transcribing these aural elements. Thus they can be seen to tell us about the nature of Kabuki performance at the turn of the 18th-19th centuries.

### *E-iri nehon*

The value of Sanba’s comic fiction in this respect will become apparent if we compare the closing lines of *Kejô* with those of an *e-iri nehon* (illustrated play-script). The typical *e-iri nehon* ends simply with the words “uchidashi maku” (final curtain) – none of the set phrases and drum rhythms which accompany the process during actual performance and which are meticulously set down in *Kejô* are present. [Figure 14, p. 123]

*E-iri nehon* offer us a good indication of the layout of a play manuscript, as comparison in cases where the manuscripts do exist would show a faithful representation.<sup>2</sup> *E-iri nehon* is a special instance where material from the private world of *maku no uchi* (inside the theatre) is transmitted in a largely unchanged form to the public commercial scene

1. Brandon 1975, 351-6.

2. Kawai 2003, 23.

of *maku no soto* (outside the theatre). The genre was in fact confined to Kamigata, suggesting there was a demand for play-scripts in Kamigata that was not greatly echoed in Edo. That is not to say that Kamigata *e-iri nehon* did not have influence in Edo.

The first *e-iri nehon* of this era would appear to be *Ehon shibai shiori* (Picture book: guide to the theatre), preface dated Kyowa 2 (1802) and illustrated by Shôkôsai Hanbei, the script of Namiki Shôzô's play, *Yadonashi Danshichi shigure no karakasa* which was staged in 6th month, 1801. Another is *Chûshin renri no hachiue* (Loyal retainers and entwined potted trees), prefaced in 1803; its production, *Gishinden yomikiri kôshaku* on stage in 10th month, 1802.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, both provide cast lists before the main texts, however, while the latter corresponds to the actual cast list as identified in *Kabuki nenpyô*,<sup>4</sup> the former differs from that of its stage production.

Further early examples of *e-iri nehon* are *Yakusha hama no masago* (Myriad of actors, like sand on a beach), and *Ehon hana momiji akiba banashi* (Picture book: a tale of autumn leaves), both illustrated by Shôkôsai Hanbei. *Yakusha hama no masago* is prefaced by Takizawa Bakin, dated Kyowa 3 (1803), and was first published from Osaka in this year.<sup>5</sup> After a first staging of the play by Namiki Gohei, *Kinmon gozan no kiri* in Osaka in Anei 7 (1778), it was performed in Kansei 12 (1800) in Edo, the *e-iri nehon* appearing three years later, offering what Gerstle terms a “dream-team” of actors for each of the roles<sup>6</sup> as with *Ehon shibai shiori*. *Ehon hana momiji akiba banashi* on the other hand lacks a preface and is undated, however permission for publication was sought in 1807. The play itself was staged in 9th to 10th month, Kansei 11 (1799). Unlike *Masago*, however, the actors proscribed to the roles are the actual ones who starred, rather than a dream-team. Also, whereas in *Masago* characters' lines are designated by role-name written in small boxes, in *Akiba* the actors' own names are used. This would suggest that *Akiba* (similarly *Chûshin renri no hachiue*) was more closely tied to its production despite the large time lapse, and that it constituted more of a memorabilia of the actual performance.<sup>7</sup> In this way it is closest to the relationship between a *hanashi* and its *hanashibon*.

---

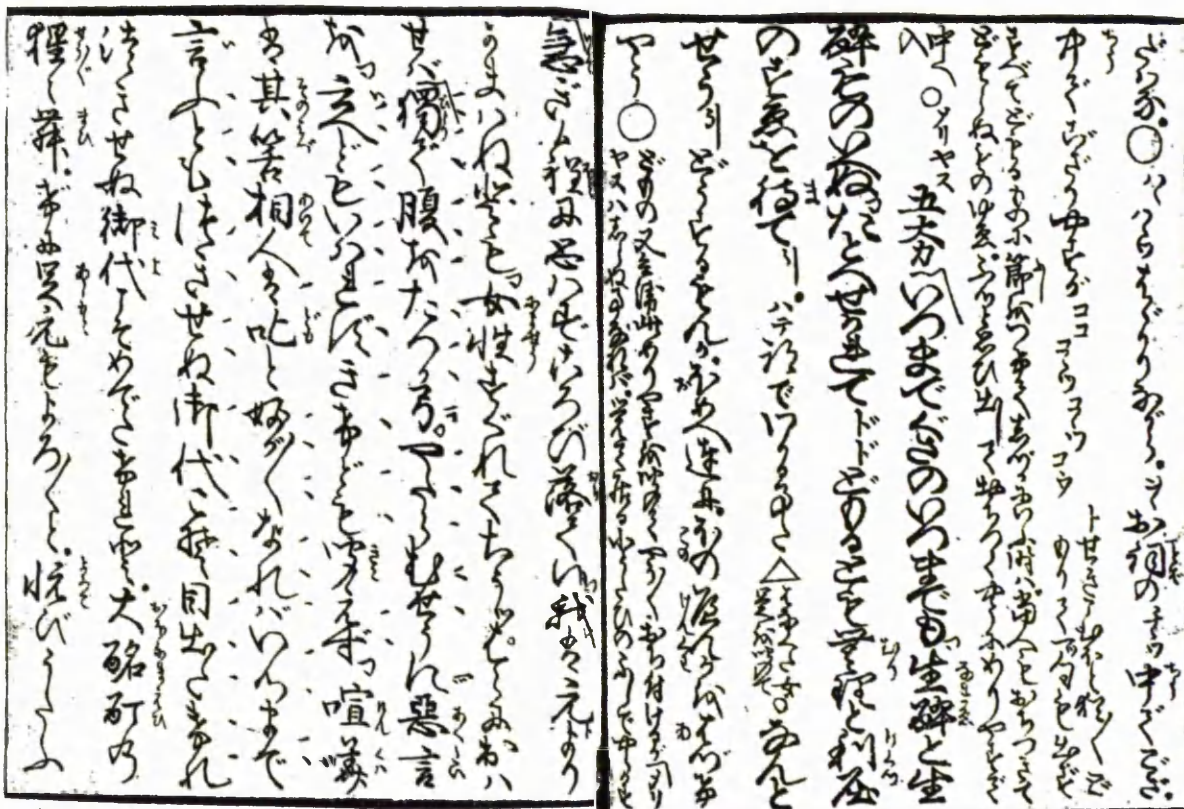
3. Both *e-iri nehon* in Tokyo University Kokubun Kenkyûshitsu collection.

4. Gerstle indicates the publication to result from the performance of 1794, which would lead one to believe the actors depicted in *Chûshin renri no hachiue* to be, “an imagined dream cast (mitate)” (Gerstle 2005, 173). The directly related performance, however, appears to be that of 1802.

5. Gerstle 2005, 122..

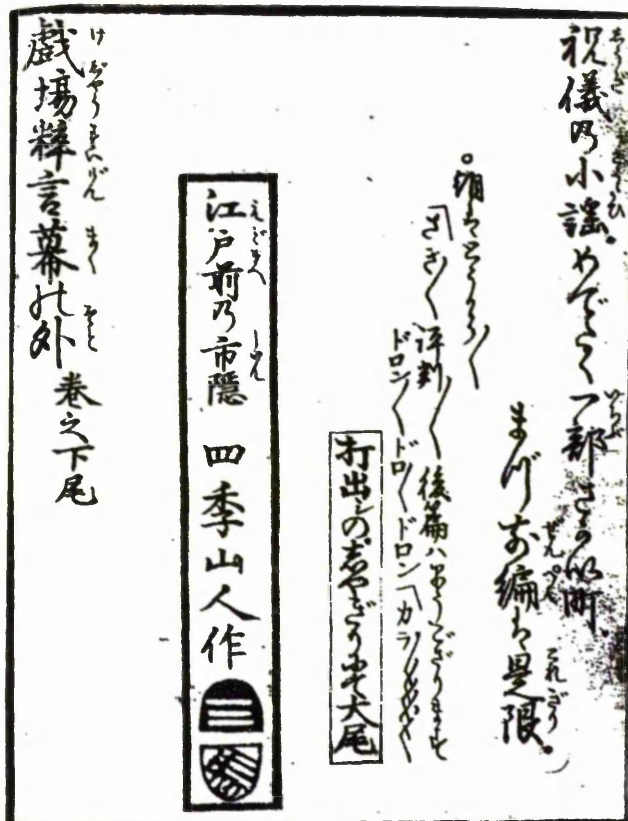
6. Gerstle 2003, 368.

7. My supposition was recently confirmed by Gerstle: “The timing of the performance was clearly to promote Rikan, but target readers were also expected to recall the performances of favourite actors no longer on the stage” (Gerstle 2005, 174).

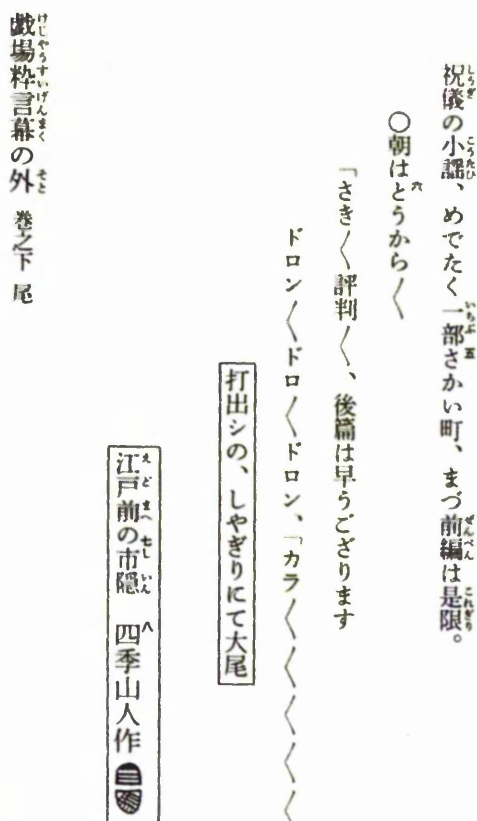


A. *Kejō suigen maku no soto*. 1806.  
Diet Library. Ending of main text.

B. *Kejō suigen maku no soto*. 1806.  
Diet Library. Ending of main text.



C. *Kejō suigen maku no soto*. 1806.  
Diet Library. Last page of main text.



D. *Kejō suigen maku no soto*.  
(*Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei*).

Figure 13.



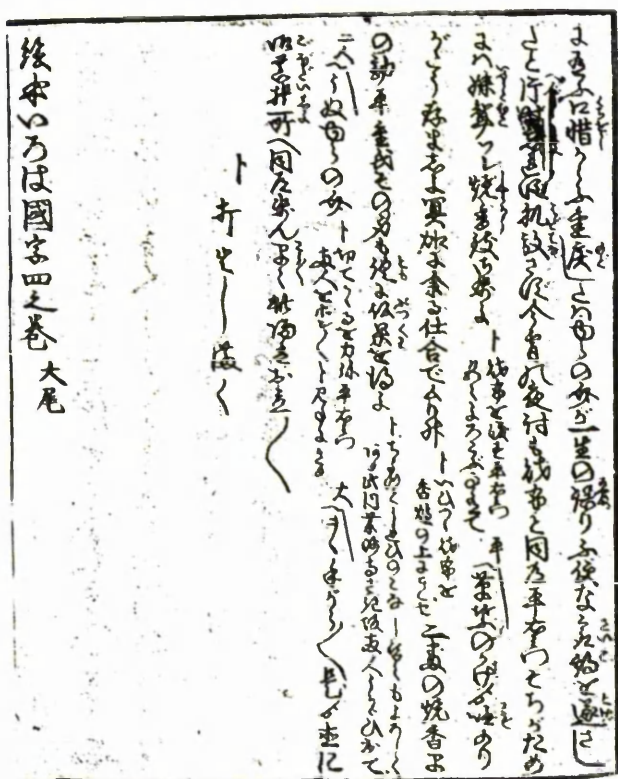


Figure 14. *Ehon iroha moji chūshingura*. 1813. Hiroshima Univ. Lib. Last page.

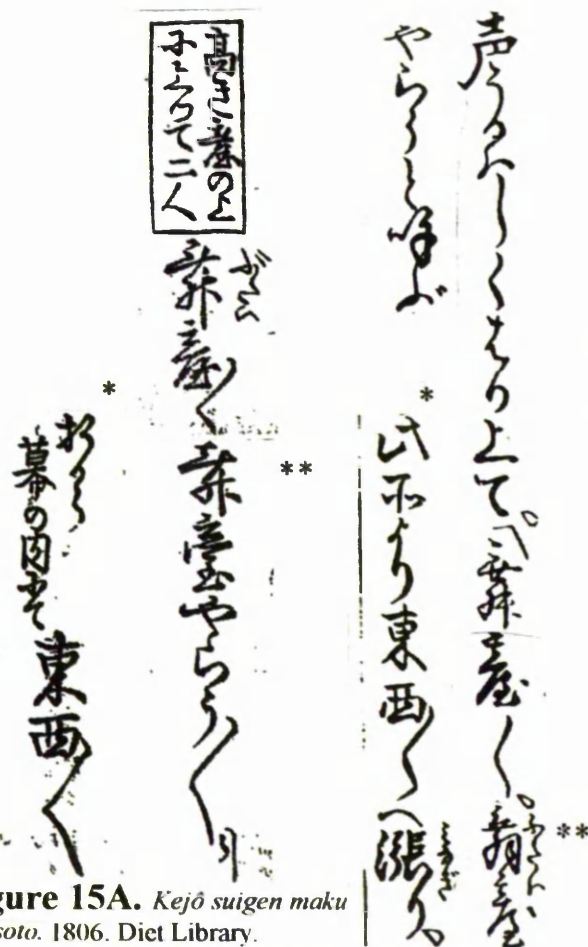
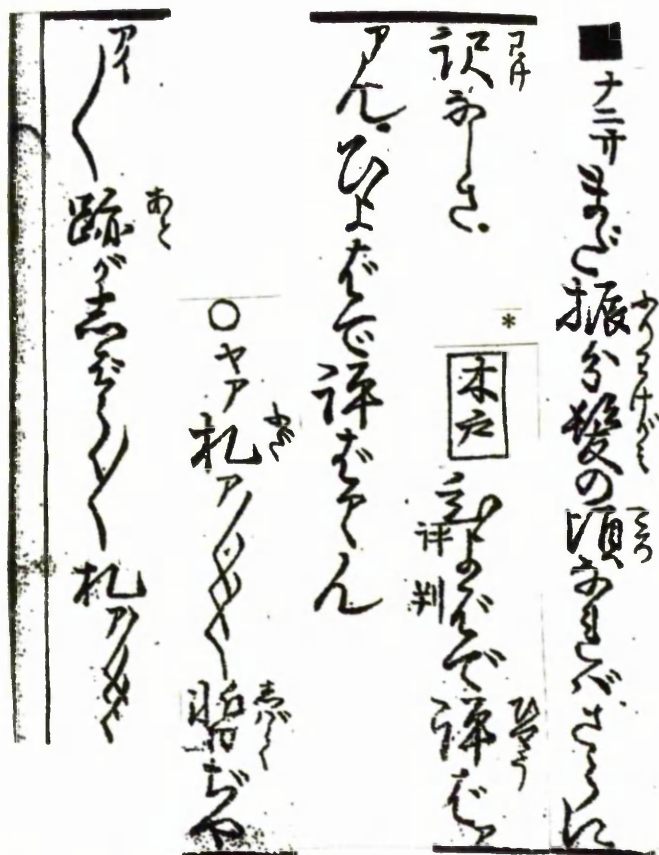


Figure 15A. *Kejō suigen maku no soto*. 1806. Diet Library. 19-20chō; 45chō.

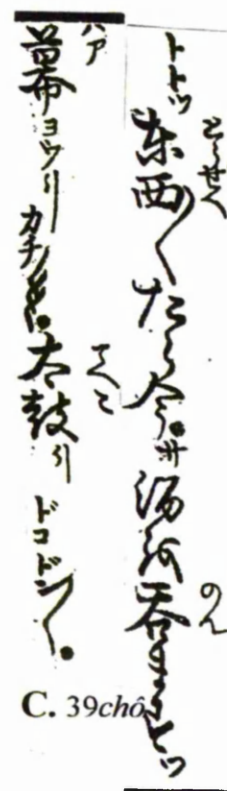
B. *Yakusha sangai kyō*. 1801. Cambridge Univ. Library. 23chō u; 25chō o.



A. *Kejō suigen maku no soto*. 1806. Diet Library. 19chō o.

イヨリイヨリ

B. 38chō.



C. 39chō.

Figure 16.



Sanba contributed a preface to the *e-iri nehon*, *Ehon iroha moji chûshingura* (Illustrated, easy to read “Treasury of loyal retainers”) published in Osaka in 1813 and illustrated by Ashiyama Ashikuni, a variation on the theme of the popular 18th century vendetta story of the 47 masterless samurai. As with the aforementioned *hanashibon* (script of story-tellers’ stories), this Kabuki play-script too has a preface, but was not written, by Sanba. This shows his proximity to the world of scripts for story-telling and theatre, but not personal involvement in performance itself.

*E-iri nehon* first appeared while Sanba was still seeking his niche and experimenting with style. Yet Sanba seems to have received reverse influence from *e-iri nehon*. Although they were the closest theatre-related reading matter available, he manages to provide the reader regarding performance with what they do not. For example, sound effects are “suggested” and are usually confined to the stage directions, whereas in Sanba’s *kokkeibon* they would be re-created in full in the main text – are they then for imagining rather than voicing out loud? The writing used for speech is regular and uniform; *karui serifu* (asides, exclamations etc.) are included, but in the same size lettering as the rest of the text. The opening stage directions to *Yakusha hama no masago* translates as follows:

From behind the curtain: Boom boom, great thunder, both rain and wind, the sound of waves; upon this terrible background the curtain opens...

I conclude from this that the *kokkeibon*, comic fiction, attempts to represent more of the whole performance, and recreates more of the atmosphere of actual performance for the reader, than the play-script.

### **Sanba and Kamigata theatre**

Sanba never stepped foot in Kamigata, yet we note that much of Sanba’s theatrical collection is Kamigata-based. The majority of Sanba’s former Jôruri *maruhon* are in fact works by Chikamatsu: we recall the veneration shown for Chikamatsu in Sanba’s appendix to *Yakusha Sangai kyô*, where he has him appear as King of the Other World’s “Kabuki Kingdom”.

The significance of Sanba’s former library of Kamigata theatre-related material can be highlighted in relation to much of his fiction. Chikamatsu’s *Yodo no koi shusse taki nobori* re-covered in Sanba’s collection, bears a title page in Sanba’s hand, on the back of which is

an inscription, “Performed from 8th day of 4th month, Genroku 13 [1700]”.<sup>8</sup> Sanba’s *gôkan*, *Itsutsui hayari otoko Utagawa* (Pair of fashionable men, Utagawa [the title likens the two Edo artists, Utagawa Toyokuni and Toyohiro – who illustrated the work - to the Osaka merchants, the main characters]) of 1810 has been noted as appearing near the end of a line of fiction emanating from this Jôruri,<sup>9</sup> but its particular connection with the original work remains unexplored.

Likewise, a copy of Ki no Kaion’s Jôruri, *Shinpan Hyôgo no Tsukishima* can be found in Sanba’s collection with the comment inside the cover, “Made clean and cover renewed in 3rd month, Bunka 11 (1814), and returned to the Shikitei library”.<sup>10</sup> In trying to unravel the influences and borrowings in the string of Tsukishima-related literature and theatre, Inoue is inconclusive whether Sanba directly used Ki no Kaion’s Jôruri when writing the *gôkan*, *Mukashi gatari Hyôgo no Tsukishima* (Old tale of Tsukishima in Hyogo), also of 1810.<sup>11</sup> However, Sanba’s proud possession of a copy of *Shinpan Hyôgo* might suggest reconsideration is required specifically between this and Sanba’s work.

Although it was shortly after the Edo production in 1800 of the play *Kinmon gozan no kiri* that the *e-iri nehon*, *Yakusha hama no masago* appeared in print, it was of course published in Kamigata. Kamigata had more of a tradition of circulated play texts, so its people were perhaps more proficient than their Edo counterparts at interpreting them by themselves. Sanba took up the task of creating a play-like work of fiction accessible to his fellow townsmen and women. Upon a subsequent 3rd month, 1810 performance in Edo of *Kinmon*, Sanba produced a *gôkan*, *Mukashi gatari kama ga fuchi* (Tale of old: the cauldron depths; later republished as *Hama no masago Ishikawa sôshi*) for the New Year 1811. It borrowed the general theme, combining it with a related Jôruri story by Shiba Shisô, *Kama ga fuchi futatsu tomoe* also featuring the thief, Ishikawa Goemon, for extra intrigue.

Kamigata readers might be familiar with reading and voicing Jôruri books, but Sanba would seem to be “translating” works into forms more palatable to Edo readers. *E-iri nehon* could be considered texts for those deeply familiar with Kabuki. As recently shown by Gerstle (2005), Kamigata Kabuki culture was amateur-based; amateurs became versed in it in order to sustain it. In Edo, on the other hand, theatre fans left it to the professionals to provide them with theatre-related media.

---

8. Nakanoshima Library collection, Osaka.

9. Tanahashi 1994, 69.

10. Nakanoshima Library collection, Osaka.

11. Inoue 1984 [a], 77.

There is an interesting relationship between Shikitei Sanba and Utagawa Toyohiro's *Shikitei zôho: Hakone reigen izari no adauchi* (Shikitei-extended: Revenge of the creeping spirits of Hakone), a *gôkan* of 1807, the *shôhon* from the original Jôruri of that title first performed in Osaka of 1801, the Kabuki version staged there in 1802, in Nagoya in 1806, and of 1808 in Edo, and its Kamigata *e-iri nehon* illustrated by Shunkôsai Hokushû, *Ehon Hakone no hatsuhana* (Picture book: first flower of Hakone), thought to date from 1808.<sup>12</sup> The two rival publications - *gôkan* and *e-iri nehon* - show the contrasting approaches taken in committing to book form the same stage-play in Edo and Osaka, which clearly reflect the differing marketing and readership demands of the two cities.

Sanba, we have seen, wrote a preface for the Kamigata *e-iri nehon*, *Iroha moji chûshingura* of 1813. Perhaps success of his *kokkeibon*, *Chûshingura henchikiron* of 1812 extended to Kamigata, and for that reason he was approached by the Osaka publisher Kawachiya Tasuke (as noted in his preface), and with whom Sanba had struck deals before whilst working in the role of Yorozuya. Alternatively, perhaps it was hoped a familiar Sanba preface might aid its reception in Edo. The title page of *Henchikiron* is very much like that of *Iroha*, both sporting Sanba's calligraphy. This binds them together as if a set, and tells of the call for his autograph-like presence in examples of his script.

Sanba also co-wrote *Kana dehon kura ishô*, a *kokkeibon* also on the 47 masterless samurai theme of 1813, with the Kamigata playwright, Shinoda Kinji, also known as Manjutei Shôji and later Namiki Gohei II, who had come from Kamigata to work in Edo. Sanba's *Naniwa miyage hatsu monogatari* (First-time tale of the gift from Osaka) of 4th month, 1808, is a *kokkeibon* to celebrate the first appearance in Edo of Osaka's Nakamura Utaemon III (Shikan) that spring. Before the *hizakurige*-type comic tale of his journey down is a long prologue in the style of a *yakusha hyôbanki* entry for Shikan, with which Sanba describes himself as beating Kamigata's Hachimonjiya Jishô off the mark.

A letter written by Sanba (addressee and date unknown) which is now found pasted in the album, *Shikanjô*,<sup>13</sup> comments on the content of a manuscript, "Shibai miyô no shikata" (Rules for play-watching).<sup>14</sup> The Kamigata phrase "pintokona" used to describe rather aggressive *wagotoshi* (dandy role-players) such as Onoe Shôroku, Sanba writes, sounds strange to Edo ears. (Although originally of Edo, Shôroku split his time between the Edo and

12. Suyama 1978, 48. I was unable to find an available copy of this work for verification.

13. Chiba City Museum of Art collection.

14. A search reveals this to exist in the Diet Library, and to be dated Bunka 12 (1815).

Kamigata stage). He regrets he does not know Kyoto and Osaka dialect, and can only rely on hearsay. Thus, many sources display Sanba's <sup>interest</sup> ~~intrigue~~ in foreign theatre and its people.

Although Sanba never visited the Kamigata region, his interest in its theatre is evident - in its theatre rather than in its reality. Nakamura Yukihiro has noted discrepancies between the Kamigata language in Sanba's writing and the real Kamigata language of this time. In his own work, Sanba's Kamigata was that of the *maruhon*, chanting scripts, that he read as a boy and later collected; hence, the language is dated.<sup>15</sup> We can argue that Sanba is not in fact interested in conveying the real Kamigata tongue, but the language of performance. Perhaps more circumspection is needed in the field of linguistics when using Sanba as the model for Edo period language.<sup>16</sup> He was, one should understand, not recording it for our benefit, but, more often than not, using it in exaggerated form to amusing effect for the sake of his fellow Edoites.

Tanahashi believes large parts of works such as *Kejô*, which shows knowledge of regional dialects and stage customs, are in fact courtesy of Rakutei Bashô, by another name the Jôruri chanter Takemoto Sodayu IV who, after experience in provincial theatre, entered Sanba's pupilship.<sup>17</sup> It is of little importance here whether Sanba was party to real Kamigata in the raw or demonstrations by Bashô; either way we can imagine Sanba using his own skills to commit what he heard to paper.

### **Space and timing - subconscious to conscious?**

It is debatable whether the "uchidashi maku" (final curtain close) at the end of the text of an *e-iri nehon* is meant to be read out at all. At most it might signify to the reader to voice the sounds of the *shagiri* ending music and imagine (or act out) the closing curtain. It is clear however, "uchidashi maku" written elongated, is *not* intended to be read in an equally drawn out way as it is not the actual words/sounds from the stage. We must differentiate between this and letters written large, occupying more space for aesthetic reasons; yet it could be seen as an attempt to represent the time it takes for the curtain to close, the length of the *shagiri* drum music that accompanies the process. (This is a particularly symbolic

---

15. Nakamura 1987, 143; 220

16. Linguistic scholars "miss the point of Sanba taking up spoken language and performance at the same time" (Young 2003, 107). This has not been missed, however, by literary scholar, Nakamura Yukihiro. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that fiction and theatre texts are all that remain as sources for the spoken language.

17. Tanahashi 1994, 91-2.

representation compared to Sanba's icons). Perhaps, then, size and length signifies something particular, and is not just arbitrary.

The epitome of a beautifully crafted woodblock printed book, however, as exemplified in Kyôden's *sharehon*, would appear to be uniform script. Similarly, in movable type, space is allocated equally to each denoted syllable. This need not be the case in woodblock, although examples such as Kyôden's *sharehon* show us that it often is. Commenting on Kyôden's *sharehon*, but not referring to woodblock version, Miller states, "The 'reading time' parallels the time of action taking place within the story".<sup>18</sup> He suggests that it was the reader's responsibility to gauge this timing by his or her chosen way of reading.

The famously banned *sharehon* by Kyôden, *Nishiki no ura* (Behind the brocade) opens in a similar way to *Ukiyoburo* with the repeated cawing of a crow, and was perhaps copied by Sanba. However, the marks run in the flow of the calligraphy, whereas in Sanba they stand out as abrupt sounds, just in the way they are written square, short, and angular.

Yet even in Kyôden's *sharehon* we sometimes detect a (subconscious?) use of the woodblock to indicate loudness and speed. Retorts such as "ai", *yobikake* (calls) such as "oi" and short *hitorigoto* (exclamations) such as "hatena" are sometimes found written in *daichô* (working play-scripts) in small *katakana* script, and we find this convention copied in Kyôden's *sharehon*. Is this just a direct imitation of the *daichô* manuscript, and indeed, did the *daichô* itself intend to imply loudness and speed in these *karui serifu* (asides etc.)? In reality, when staged, these *karui serifu* are usually spoken more quietly and/or quickly than other speech. The rest of the *daichô* was for the individual actor to determine rhythm (presumably any more written aids would be considered encroaching on actors' territory and expertise), so no more indicators of loudness and speed were transmitted to the *sharehon* genre. *Sharehon* borrowed and transformed into fiction all manner of devices from the *daichô*, but in general added no more as regards conventions in transcribing aural elements. *Hanashibon* is another case in point.

In the *daichô*, *Kinmon gozan no kiri* and its *e-iri nehon*, *Yakusha hama no masago* only particles such as "e" (to) are written in small script; whether this expresses quickness or softness, or just unimportance of this part of speech, is unclear. Here asides are written in normal sized script. Lack of systemization perhaps suggests a level of subconscious desire to transmit ideas on loudness and speed. On the whole, the inclusion of such signs was perhaps

---

18. Miller 1988, 138.

deemed unnecessary even in the published *e-iri nehon* because of the proficiency of Kamigata readers.

The use of different size writing in manuscript - and produced just as easily in woodblock print - was, then, not new to Sanba, but perhaps only on a subconscious level in *daichô* and their style imitators, *sharehon*, as use is not standardized. We find the small script convention present throughout one of Kyôden's *sharehon*, but totally absent from another, presumably to sometimes, but sometimes not, resemble a *daichô*. Those which do not would appear to place more value upon aesthetically pleasing calligraphy. A case in point is *Kyôden yoshi* (Kyôden's own record) of Kansei 2 (1790), a *sharehon*-style parody of the *Shisho* (Four Chinese Classics) commentary, *Keitethyoshi*. This *sharehon* is written in strictly uniform script as far as the asides; and as whose title suggests, he wrote reflecting upon his own self. [Figure 17A, p. 136]

I believe that Sanba became conscious of the potential, and began to experiment regards theatre sounds and conventions. By the time of *Kejô suigen maku no soto* in 1806 we see calls made by theatre announcers written in woodblock print in script larger and longer than that of surrounding lines. Also, their smoothness contrasts with the staccato look of the dialect and speech habits of the members of the audience. We imagine their squawking as opposed to the melodious tones of the announcers. In other words, a glance through the woodblock version will immediately identify the stage-side calls from the auditorium-based conversation.

For example, calls outside the theatre of "Hyôban" (Box office hit!), "Fuda" (Tickets!), "Ato ga Shibaraku" (*Just a minute* on next!) interrupt the chattering of maids. [Figure 16A\*, p. 123] The serene call of "Kôjô--" provides a (visual) respite from the prattling of the drunk in the auditorium pit, although no sooner than it resounds, he picks up on the word himself to resume his banter. [B] There are some instances when spectators mimic these calls or effects, but they retain their own speech characteristics, so the imitation theatre sounds remain within the flow of their talk. The drunk cries out the words "Curtain" and "Drums" in the same elongated way, finishing them off with the appropriate onomatopoeic sounds of "swish, swish" and "rat-tat-tat". "Tôzai" is corrupted to "Tôzei" following colloquial Edo dialect. [C]

We also see examples in woodblock of genuine theatre calls, "Tôzai, tôzai" (Ladies and gentlemen x 2) and "Butai yarô, butai yarô" (Let the play begin! x 2), both written with ditto marks in staggered fashion, as if the repeat call begins before the first is over. Although

in practice a call made by one person such as “Tôzai” cannot actually overlap, it is given in such a way - as heard at the theatre today – as to give this impression by diminishing at the end of the first, and coming in immediately loud with the second. In the case of Butai yarô, two people call in unison from the theatre roof, and slight loss of timing and echo might produce a similar effect. At any rate, these subtle nuances in the nature of the calls have been represented in woodblock, and might be translated in the manner below.

[Figure 15A\*; \*\*, p. 123]

“T O Z A “T<sub>I</sub> O Z A<sub>I</sub>” “B U T A “B<sub>I</sub>” U T A<sub>I</sub>,”  
 “B U T A Y<sub>I</sub> A R O O O “B<sub>O</sub>” U T A Y<sub>I</sub> A R O O O O O”

In the earlier *Yakusha sangai kyô* (1801), in the land where life is as on stage, people are summoned with “Tôzai”, “Butai yarô” etc., but we do not yet detect such calligraphic differentiation, and the cries appear within the general flow rather than as interruptions. So, *Sangai kyô*’s script itself was still relatively undeveloped in the representation of loudness and speed; however the idea of incorporating these conventions into a narrative (to be performed) was being prototyped here. [Figure 15B]

Similarly-themed works of around the same period, such as Jihinari’s *kokkeibon*, *Kokkei shirôto shibai* (Comic amateur productions) of 1803, lack the complex signs. We find the use of stage-clapper onomatopoeia (“chon”) at the end of the text, but this is following Sanba’s *Gakuya tsû* and *Sangai kyô*. Sakuragawa Jihinari was in fact a storyteller by profession, and although had the gift of the gab by nature, was not necessarily so adept at reconstructing every nuance on the page. Similarly Enba, who tried in vain to teach Sanba story-telling during his youth, does not make use of “Sanba-style” signs in his own *kokkeibon*. The likes of Enba and Jihinari were, perhaps, too entrenched in *hanashi* and in extension other types of performance to be able to consciously analyse it and see a need for representing it graphically on the page.

### Sanba’s *sharehon* – origin of transcriptional type

So far I have given the example of *gekisho*, *Yakusha sangai kyô* (1801) as showing the beginnings of a transcriptional type representation. The pioneering work is in fact Sanba’s first *sharehon*, *Tatsumi Fugen*, of Kansei 10 (1798).

*Sharehon* is seen as the initial genre creating ways of writing down vernacular speech with all its contractions, drawls, hesitation particles, and ungrammatical utterances,<sup>19</sup> (although these are largely taken from the *daichô*) at whose zenith stands Kyôden. Sanba is actually imitating Kyôden's charter in transcribing how sounds are in dialect, as indicated through a comparison of the "Opening remarks" to Sanba's *Tatsumi Fugen* and the earlier *sharehon* by Kyôden, *Tsûgen sô magaki* of Tenmei 7 (1787).<sup>20</sup> Both state in an almost identical way that the language of the courtesan is rendered as it is heard, the variations remaining uncorrected into more normal forms. Although <sup>claim</sup>maintaining to have the same ends, that is, the communication of manners of speech, the main texts themselves look very different.

A glance at any of Kyôden's *sharehon* tells us he prized beautiful, regular calligraphy, which suggests that in the case of Kyôden it was the reader's responsibility to gauge timing and loudness by his or her chosen way of reading, as Miller was correct to state vis à vis Kyôden<sup>21</sup> even though he does not refer to the woodblock version. More important than time-conveyance through textual space was textual uniformity (a precursor of modern movable type). The impression is that Kyôden monitored the product throughout the publication process, led by his artistic eye.

In contrast to Kyôden's elegant and orderly style, Sanba's first *sharehon*, *Tatsumi fugen* of 1798 is a riot of shapes of differing sizes. It would be difficult to consider the jumbled madness of Sanba's pages aesthetically pleasing in a traditional calligraphic sense. It stands out among other *sharehon* of the era in its animated appearance. The use of the studio name "Tarari rô" in the preface of this work is considered evidence that by this date he was installed in his post as a book publisher.<sup>22</sup> It was perhaps by watching the in-house book production process,<sup>23</sup> that the potential for expression through woodblock began to occur to him. [Figure 17B, p. 136]

With his first attempt at the *sharehon* genre, Sanba did not only employ lively calligraphy to transmit his work, but created a mode of composition which lent itself to a dynamic script, regardless of the identity of the copyist. Whereas the traditional *daichô* affirmation uttered by a maid is "Ai", in the centre of the first page of *Tatsumi fugen* he goes

19. Araki 1969, 30.

20. Jinbo 1989, 457.

21. Miller 1988, 138.

22. Tanahashi 1994, 23.

23. In large publishing establishments most stages of the book production process were usually performed in-house (Kornicki 1998, 48).



a step further with a long and thin-looking “Ai i i i--”. This immediately suggests time and speed, perhaps a high pitch, as well as being a generally more accurate, subjective rendition. Yet none of his ideas spread to *Kuruwa setsuyô*, a rather staid *sharehon* written in the same year by Sanba’s pupil Rakutei Bashô (the professional Jôruri chanter), with a preface by Sanba.

Sanba’s innovation in his *kokkeibon* has long been described as his subtle realistic description through the vernacular pioneered by Kyôden in his *sharehon*. Leutner relates the advancement of this technique as a transition from Kyôden’s sole concern with the idiosyncrasies of speech, to Sanba’s end of “believable, self-revealing characterization”.<sup>24</sup> Style-wise, the *kokkeibon* took over from the *sharehon* when they were banned in the Kyôwa era (1801-3). Drake describes *kokkeibon* as “an extension of the *sharehon* genre in typographically resembling a dramatic script”.<sup>25</sup> However we have seen Sanba offers more than that, even from the time of his *sharehon*. And all these observances ignore the equally dramatic difference between Kyôden’s and Sanba’s woodblock pages. The characteristics of each represented in woodblock are clearly visible in the smooth, regular spacing of Kyôden’s, contrasting with Sanba’s spikey conglomerations.

A similar comparison can be made between the actual calligraphy found inside a folding manuscript book, *Shunsô hiji* (Window on spring: private writings) of late Bunka/early Bunsei (c. 1810),<sup>26</sup> in which Kyôden and Sanba have conveniently written their passages alongside each other. They each sign their name with a *kyôka*. One wonders how far these hands represented each’s way of expressing himself orally. Perhaps Kyôden’s tongue was as smooth as his calligraphy, while Sanba, whom we know was no orator, spoke in the abrupt, unwieldy rushes that his calligraphy (and layout) resembles. Whether or not they ever wrote out their own clean copies of their fiction for carving in woodblock, something of their characters must have conveyed itself into the lettering and design. [Figure 18A and B]

### **Scribes’ role in Sanba’s *kokkeibon***

I have shown that Sanba consciously considered timing, loudness etc., and was particularly precise in the transcribing of aural elements on the page. The problem arises of who actually wrote out the copies for cutting, and how arbitrary was it? Sometimes scribes’ names feature at the end of texts or in colophons, but in the 3 early *kokkeibon* studied above

---

24. Leutner 1985, 103.

25. Shirane 2002, 731.

26. Nakano Mitsutoshi collection.

– *Ukiyoburo*, *Kejô suigen maku no soto* and *Namaei katagi* - none is mentioned. Since his father was a block-cutter, and since he had ties with two publishing houses, it is possible Sanba contracted a favourite scribe to whom he could lay down exactly what he wanted.<sup>27</sup> The fact that Sanba's scripts were successfully created particularly dynamically in woodblock suggests that he had considerable control. Alternatively, Sanba himself was a competent calligrapher, whom we know personally wrote out the majority of his prefaces. The distinctive hand which characterizes the main text of these *kokkeibon* could be his own, because it is not unlike that of his prefaces. This can be seen in the case of *Namaei katagi*. [Figure 36B, p. 239] (Compare with the postscript of *Yakusha sangai kyô* which is clearly not his writing [Figure 4B, p. 48]).

We can imagine that Sanba made particular demands on the scribe (whoever he may have been), and by extension, the publisher of *Kejô suigen maku no soto* and *Ukiyoburo* to recreate meticulously in woodblock his crucial orthographic designs. As previously mentioned, there was no concept of writers' copyright; ownership rights of the blocks (*hanken*) belonged to the publisher unless otherwise stated. The only hint of the identity of the publishers of *Kejô suigen maku no soto* comes from the inscriptions, "Yamashiro" and the single character "Ue" followed by "Sasuke", incorporated into the design on the dust cover.<sup>28</sup> Jinbo's commentary in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei* suggests these to be the publishers, Yamashiroya Fujiemon and Yamadaya Sasuke,<sup>29</sup> but I think the latter is more likely an abbreviation of "Kazusaya Sasuke",<sup>30</sup> Sanba's younger brother. It is not insignificant, I suggest, that both works were published by Sanba's younger brother, who traded under the name of Kazusaya Sasuke (in *Kejô suigen maku no soto*), and later Ishiwatari Heihachi (in *Ukiyoburo*), but who died in 1811.<sup>31</sup> Kazusaya Sasuke was also the sole publisher of the similarly orthographically-complex *Namaei katagi* of 1806. Where script is concerned, these 3 works stand out as the most dynamic during this era. Sanba was perhaps able to make unusually elaborate demands to the brother 6 years his junior during the production process of these works. And as a publisher himself, Sanba knew the scope of possibility and limits within the profession.

27. As a large publishing establishment, Yorozyu firm could well have employed an in-house scribe.

28. 上 佐助.

29. Jinbo 1989, 296.

30. 上総屋佐助.

31. *Shikitei zakki*, 47. In Chapter 2 we also saw him appear in combination thereof as Ishiwatari Sasuke on *Shibai kinmô zui* (1803) colophon.

The idea of theatrical sound representation found its beginnings - but was not yet developed fully using woodblock - in *Yakusha gakuya tsû* and *Yakusha sangai kyô*. *Gakuya tsû* uses a deliberate *ukiyozôshi*-type copy-hand to reflect Hachimonjiya *katagimono* which it purports to mimic. *Sangai kyô* would appear to be copied out by various hands (due to noticeably different styles and punctuation marker shapes in each section. The cause could have been lack of time, as we know from the “Opening remarks” that publication had fallen behind schedule). Again, we must remember the constraints imposed upon the so-called appendices in both these cases. Attention-grabbing woodblock script would detract from the “main text” prints. Sanba called upon the services of the Ukiyo-e artist, Eishôsei Chôki, it is noted, to perform the laborious task of copying out *Shibai kinmô zui*. The prefaces of all these theatre books are, as usual, without doubt Sanba’s script.

We are particularly familiar with Sanba’s calligraphic hand from the numerous inscriptions he leaves in books from his collection. The postscript to *Ukiyoburo* Part I makes it clear that the postscript had been re-copied out by the pupil, Sankô, at Sanba’s request, and it is unusually inserted after the colophon. The writing is certainly of a different hand to that of the rest of the book. *Namaei katagi*’s preface, on the other hand, is recognizably Sanba’s writing. The main text follows in smaller, yet very similar calligraphy. Upon a separate comparison between the main texts of *Namaei*, *Kejô* and *Ukiyoburo*, these 3 look as if they have been written out by the same person (no-one is acknowledged); if not Sanba himself,<sup>32</sup> the same well-briefed scribe. However, scribes’ names in his later *kokkeibon* are clearly marked.<sup>33</sup> *Ukiyoburo*’s stating specifically that the postscript is written out by a pupil, Sankô, suggests to me that the copyist for the rest of the book is either of particularly great, or lowly, status. The standard would suggest the former. Be that as it may, in published fiction, as we are dealing with woodblock print and not manuscript, it is impossible to say anything with absolute certainty.

We are able to recognise the distinctive thick, heavy strokes of Sanba’s *kaisho* (block script) as in the preface of *Akogi monogatari*, leaning towards *gyôsho* (semi-cursive script) in *Namaei katagi* preface. The preface of *Haiyûkei*, written by “Tôshi Shôkyaku” and published from Horinoya, also borders between these two forms and displays similarities of hand (for

32. It would appear there are some identified cases where an author has prepared his own *hanshita* [clean copy for carving and printing] (Kornicki 1998, 47).

33. *Kyôgen inaka ayatsuri* (1811), *Ningen banji uso bakkari* and *Ippai kigen* (1813), *Kokon hyaku baka* (1814), *Chaban kyôgen haya gôten* (1821) all identify the scribe. Bar *Kokon hyaku baka*, this is the same individual, Rantei Shinrai, a known professional copyist.

instance the characteristic strong scoop of the radicals such as *shikigamae* in the Kanji for “shiki” of Shikitei, and *hokozukuri* in the “ge” of *gesaku* etc.<sup>34</sup>), yet it is written on a slight slant to the left; signifying an attempt, perhaps, at disguise, a proxy scribe, or a different author altogether. The identity of Tōshi Shōkyaku remains inconclusive.

### The mass-produced autograph

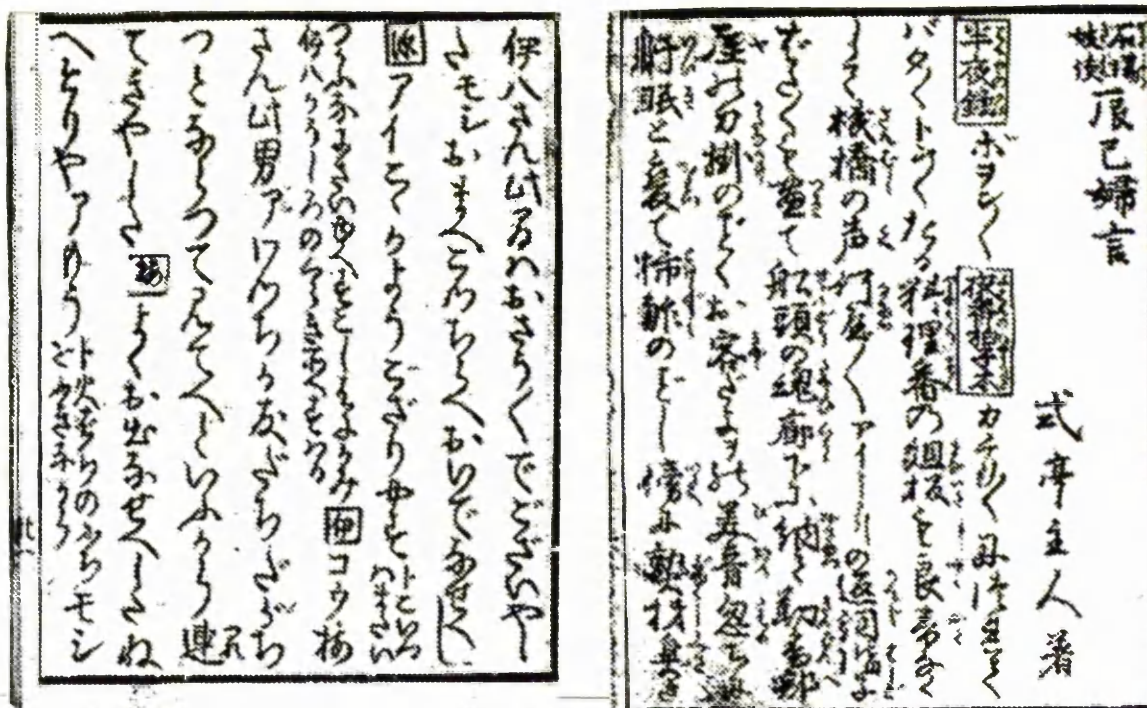
The woodblock medium had no extra difficulty in recreating a famous person’s writing as anyone else’s. We can imagine that fans desired examples of their favourite actor’s hand, as, for example, *tansaku* (poem cards) written by certain actors are reproduced in the *gekisho*, *Shibai gakuya zue* of Kansei 12 (1800). Prefaces in Kyōden’s and Sanba’s calligraphy would likewise bring appeal in a similar sort of way as a signed copy would now.

Sanba’s first *kibyōshi* and debut piece at the age of 18, *Tentō ukiyo no dezukai* of Kansei 6 (1794), would appear to contain no calligraphy by Sanba, as the distinctive, mature flowery style continues throughout the work. The square, clumsy block writing in the prefaces of *Shiba Zenkō yume no mudagaki* and *Tada tanome daihi no chienowa* of Kansei 9 (1797), however, are very probably the young Sanba’s first attempts - the heaviness is retained in later years - showing little change in *Hara tsutsumi heso no shikakata* (a story of monsters finally put under control by Hakuen) of the next year. In the prefaces of *kibyōshi* of Kansei 11 (1799), *Kyan taiheiki mukō hachimaki*, *Hiki gaeshi tatoe no makuaki*, and theatre books, *Yakusha saikenki* and *Yakusha gakuya tsū* we see the development of a cursive style. [Figure 19A, p. 137]

Although we have no example of Sanba’s calligraphy in Kansei 12 (1800), the improvement that must have been taking place during this year is clear by the start of the next. It is not coincidental, I believe, that by Kansei 12 we have witnessed the entry of Sawada Tōkō’s copy books in to the Yorozuya catalogue; this either provided the opportunity for Sanba to practise, or was instigated by him. The prefaces of *Yakusha sangai kyō*, and two *kibyōshi*, *Nippon ichi ahō kagami* and *Shikitei Sanba unubore kagami*, all of New Year 1801 (Kansei 13/Kyōwa 1), display an open-style calligraphy new to Sanba, which – even to the amateur eye- is not unlike the classical style taught in *Tōkō sensei gyōsho senjimon* from the Yorozuya catalogue. In the next few years he developed his distinctive style we know well from prefaces and inscriptions. [Figures 19B and 20]

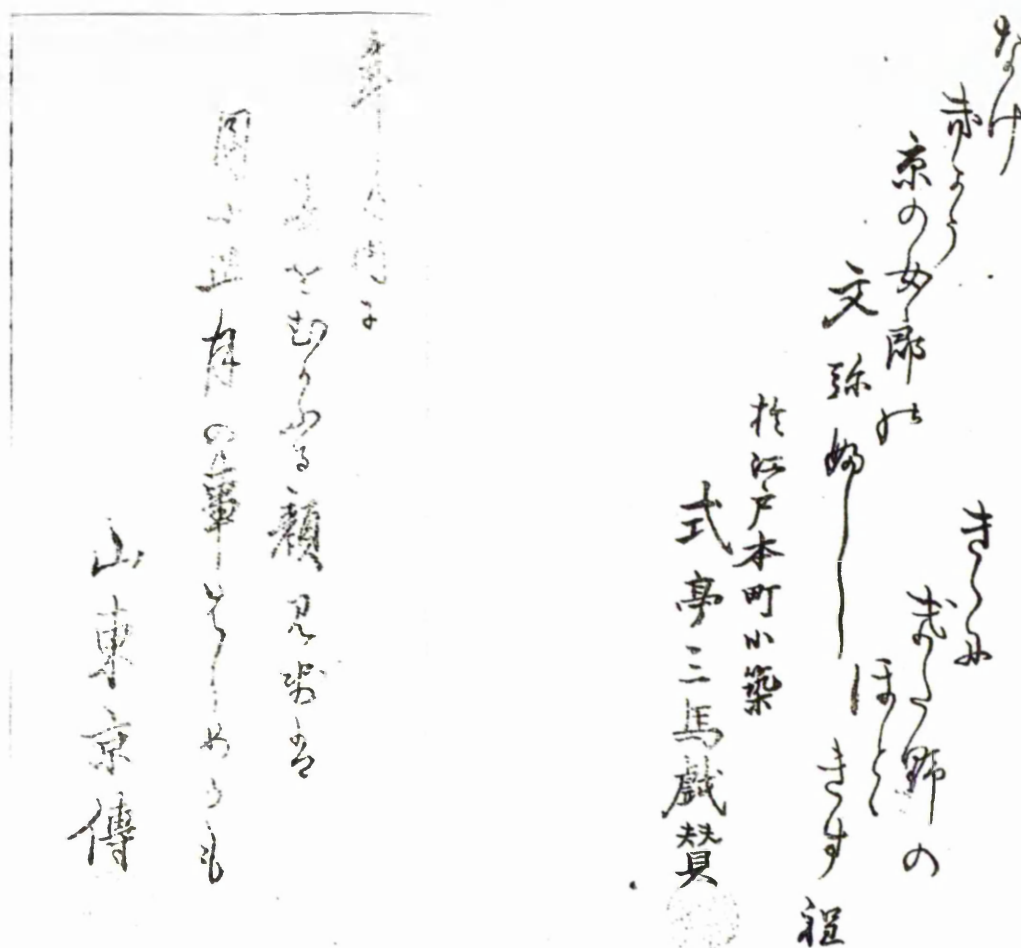
---

34. 式・戯



A. *Kyôden Yoshi*. 1790. Katei Bunko. 36chô u. B. *Tatsumi fugen*. 1798. Katei Bunko. 9chô u.

Figure 17.



A. *Shunsô hiji*. c.1810-20. Nakano Collection. *Kyôka* by Kyôden.

B. *Kyôka* by Sanba.

Figure 18.



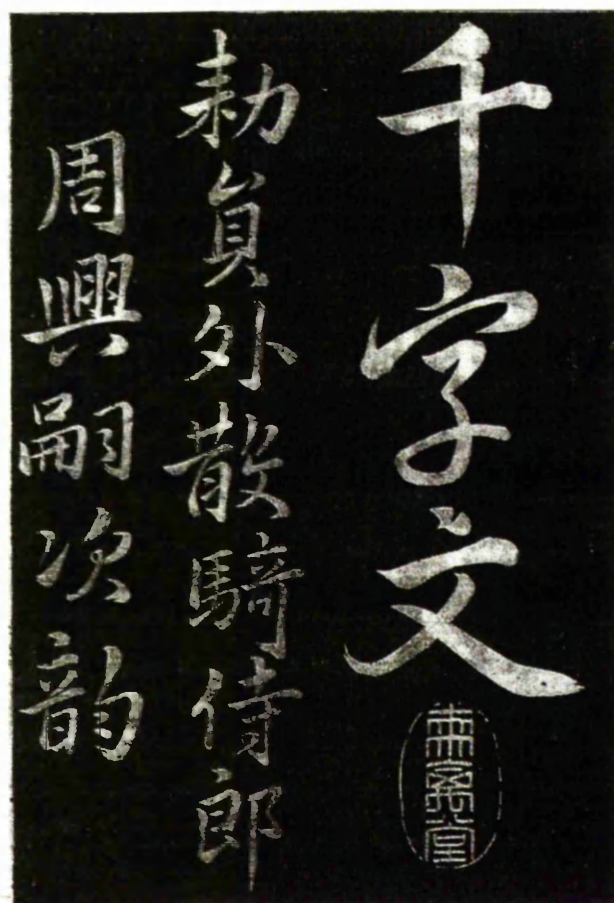


Figure 20. Tōkō Sensei sōsho (gyōsho) senjimon. 1806 impression. Nakano Collection. 1chō

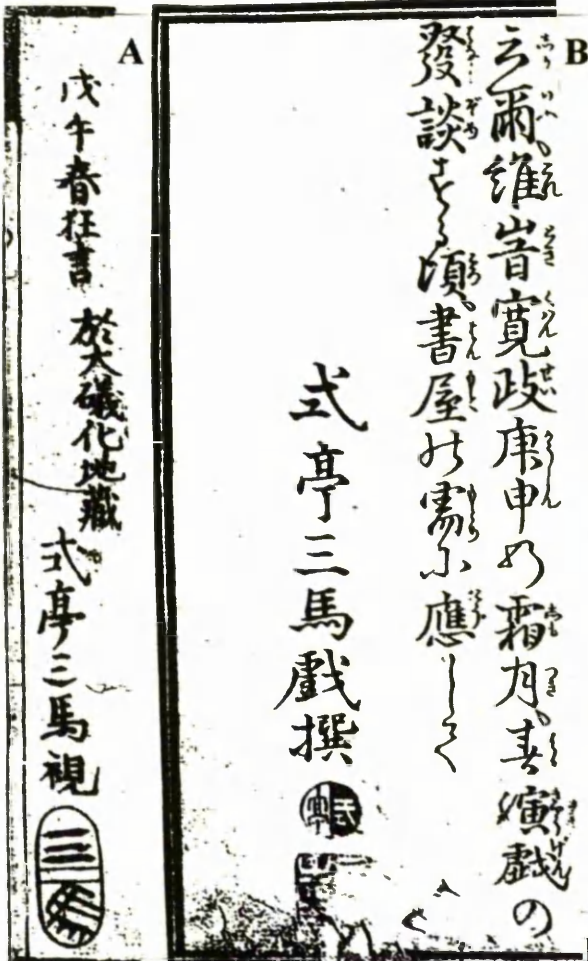


Figure 19 A. Hara tsutsumi heso no shikakata. 1798. Tokyo Metropolitan Library. End of preface.  
B. Yakusha sangai kyō. 1801. Cambridge Univ. Library. End of preface.

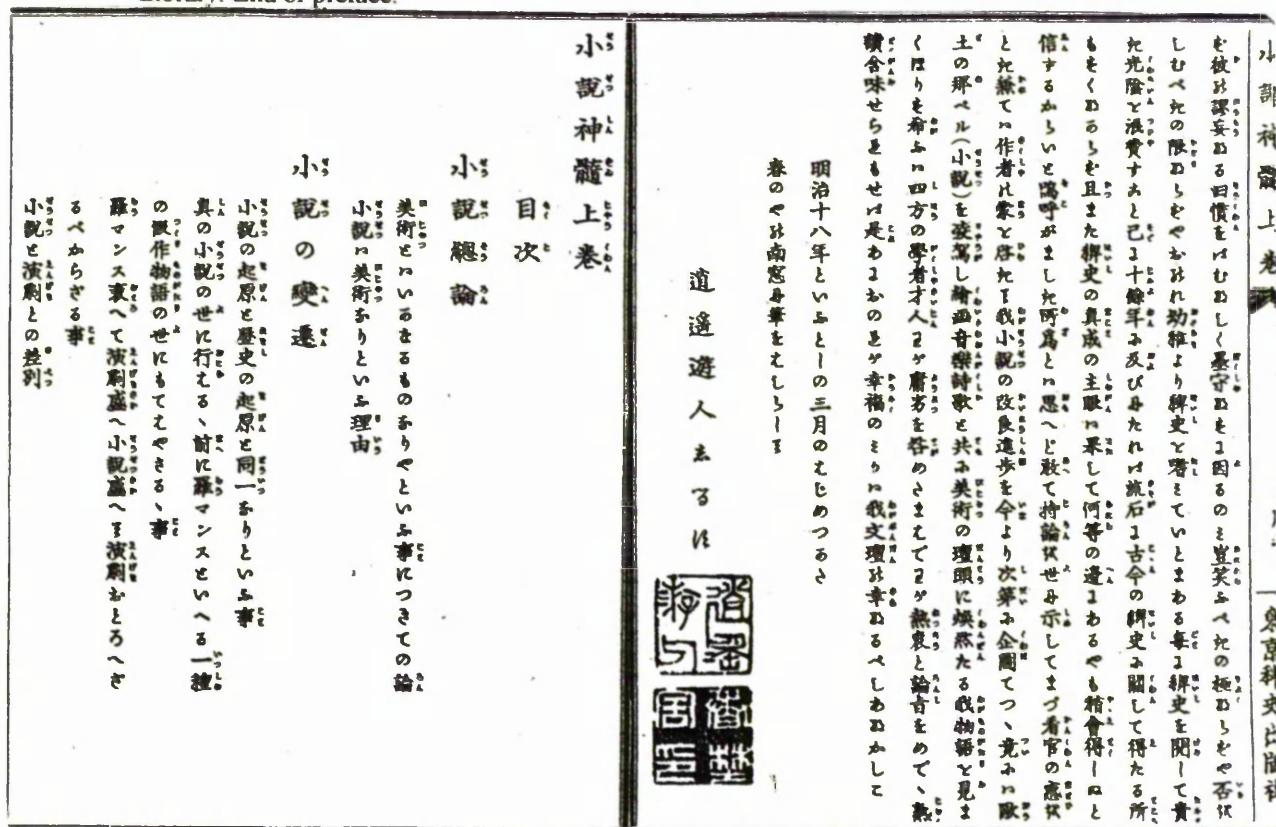


Figure 21. Shōsetsu shinzui. 1885. Shōgetsudō. End of preface; Table of contents.

Even Bakin has to grudgingly concede that, “Sanba’s calligraphy was not unskilful, in an honest and straightforward way”.<sup>35</sup> Sawada claimed to teach a simple, classic style in his exercise books. Having mastered this basic style, Sanba was then able to build upon it a means of successfully capturing extra elements. I suggested earlier that Sanba’s innovation lay not in the actual calligraphy, but the essence of the information conveyed by it. However, consolidation of a confident, orderly calligraphic hand (as we have seen Sanba possessed by this time) would act as a basis for incorporating additional effects, and help to optimize these effects.

Sanba does not note that he acted as copyist for the main text of any of his works, however it may have been a necessity to gain the precision he wanted. It is also likely that such an admission would appear too studious for the *gesakusha* image. What he would have wanted to convey was a revolutionary sound-sensitive writing system, rather than the fact that he himself had menially written the whole thing out. I believe that it is with *kokkeibon* and his new confidence in calligraphy that he took up the challenge of preparing his own *hanshita* (clean copy for subsequent carving and printing), and therein set himself the task of describing specifically sound and movement in the shapes emanating from his brush.

## II Modern perspectives

Through the example of Sanba’s work, I have pinpointed an occasion of particular expressiveness in Japanese woodblock printing. I will now look at how this fits into the broader history of printed fiction, and how events changed later editions and their reading.

### Edo in Meiji publication

Although Maeda works from a “Kindai” modern point of view, he sheds much light on understanding the significance of Edo script. He wrote that, in contrast to movable-type printing, in the woodblock medium the role of signs giving expression [having direct meaning], is greater than that of signs giving content [that which is meant].<sup>36</sup> However, his pioneering ideas have not been followed through to any great extent by scholars of Edo. Maeda himself turned away from his initial perceptive thread. Foremost in his argument of the losses incurred through transition from woodblock to movable type becomes the

---

35. Kimura 1988, 48-49.

36. Maeda 1989, 339.

incompatibility of the picture with written text.<sup>37</sup> He refers to *kokkeibon*, *Ukiyoburo*, but as we have seen here illustrations are not crucial to the work. It is more important to consider what effect modern type has in altering the woodblock written texts.

Maeda notes, however, that it is significant that the typeface preferred in early Meiji was Shinchôtai, rather than the Minchôtai widely used today.<sup>38</sup> Both are Japan-ized versions (i.e. modifications including addition of a *kana* repertoire) of the established *kaisho* (block calligraphy) styles of the Chinese dynasties of Ming and the following Qing (Shin), the latter (1616-1912) contemporary with the Edo and early Meiji periods. Japanese Shinchôtai had been created during the first decade of Meiji by Kôdôken of Ginza, which became the leading metal type-manufacturer of this font. Shinchôtai has the most accentuated lines of all block types, with a semi-cursive feel to it, and has obviously been influenced by handwriting/woodblock printing.

It was no coincidence that Shinchôtai, with its slight “handwritten”, nostalgic feel, was used to print, among other works, *Shôsetsu shinzui* by Tsubouchi Shôyô, published in 1885.<sup>39</sup> *The essence of the novel*, although widely believed to be a pioneering study by the leading literati of Western literature and drama in setting new ways in Japanese fiction-writing – the new “artistic” (*mosha*, rubied with “aachisuchikku”) novel to replace the old didactic one - in fact was fairly conservative and traditional in many of its theories: Shôyô’s insistence was upon *ninjô* (emotions) found in the *gesaku* genre of *ninjôbon* as an important factor within fiction, which was later to be (mis-) interpreted as the Western technique of character development.<sup>40</sup> Thus, within Shôyô’s original work, the vocabulary may have been new, but the ideas actually taken from old.<sup>41</sup>

Here I am interested in the formats of Meiji publications rather than the content, but with which they are inextricably linked. Campbell, in exploring continuing Edo in the 2nd decade of Meiji, raises the example of *Shôsetsu shinzui* in a bibliographical context. In *wahon* format and *hanshibon* size, it is, at a glance, reminiscent of the *yomihon* genre. Yet its thin 10-leafed, 9-fascicle form, rather than *gôkan*-like in form as is widely supposed, is in

---

37. Ibid., 344.

38. Ibid., 339.

39. Ibid.

40. Kornicki 1982, 34.

41. Shôyô did, however, on another occasion specifically criticise Sanba for lacking “unity of plan” [sic] (“Shikitei Sanba Hyôban” *Chûô gakujutsu zasshi* 29; Meiji 19). On this point his ideas would appear to be more Western-influenced.



fact more similar to the contemporary cheap booklets found in England and France.<sup>42</sup> Cover design and text layout are, however, unarguably of Edo conventions. [Figure 21, p. 137]

This 2nd decade of Meiji was the last before Edo became a history, and marks a period of layered coexistence of the two cultures.<sup>43</sup> In this way, *Shôsetsu shinzui* is almost echoing, through the amalgamation of East and West in its format, the essence of its contents: old ideas are simply re-expressed in new terms. Perhaps it was the later, all Western-form, hardback one-volume edition that encouraged people to mistake Shôyô's support of *ninjô* (emotion) depiction in *ninjôbon* for the sensualism involved in character development found in the Western novel.

Let us examine the development of formats in different types of Meiji publications during this crucial second decade:<sup>44</sup> the *ninjôbon*, *Kana majiri musume setsuyô* (Girls' handbook with *kana*) by <sup>Kyoku Sanjin</sup> Tamenaga Shunsui of Tenpô 2 (1831) enjoyed continued popularity into Meiji, being republished 15 times from 1882 to 1889.<sup>45</sup> Its wide availability would have helped enforce claims of the similarities between *ninjôbon* and the Western novel. Incidentally, <sup>Kyoku Sanjin</sup> Shunsui had been one of the few writers to pick up on expressive techniques employed by Sanba, such as the insertion of Jôruri script into main text as seen in *Namaei katagi*. However, this is lost in the 1882 edition from Kakuseisha; although it has Japanese-style binding, this is a tiny 3 volumes of compact Shinchôtai type-face. Illustrations remain, though have been redrawn in Meiji style. It would appear, as Kornicki states, that "Edo writers were being constantly reprinted and re-read throughout the Meiji period",<sup>46</sup> yet it should be noted that each time they became less Edo-like.

*Shunsô kiwa* (Strange tales through the spring window) of 1884, a translation of Sir Walter Scott's poem, *Lady of the lake*, uses stiff, Minchôtai *kanji* and *katakana*, echoing its "foreign" origins as opposed to "soft" *gesaku*. There is no punctuation.

In 1885 Bunjidô sought permission to transcribe *Ukiyoburo* into a typed edition and published it in Western book format using Shinchôtai typeface.<sup>47</sup> The hardback cover is in colourful Meiji style. The 4 parts are combined into the one volume, the preface to the

---

42. Campbell 1999, 2.

43. Ibid., 4

44. I was able to see and compare a large number of early Meiji books in the National Institute of Japanese Literature in Tokyo. See **Appendix IV**: Primary source references (p. 240) for a detailed list.

45. Kornicki 1982, 54.

46. Ibid., 109.

47. Tenri University Library collection.

Women's bath (Part IV) heading the whole thing. Commas in the original text have been removed, and line-size standardized: narration (*ji no bun*) has been committed to brackets. Sanba's characteristic left-hand glosses giving the true reading for mispronounced words appear in square brackets after the word. Illustrations are abbreviated and re-drawn. - Perhaps this newly released type edition was responsible for blinding Shôyô in *Shôsetsu shinzui* from the artistic ("aachisuchikku" - *mosha*) merits of the verbal text of a work such as *Ukiyoburo*.

Whatever the case, trends in "transcribing" and writing anew interchanged: *Tôsei shosei katagi* (The characteristics of modern students) by Shôyô uses the same type format as the *Ukiyoburo* edition of the same year, with speakers' names parenthesized, and Japanese translation of *katakana* English – corresponding to Sanba's left-hand glosses - given in square brackets. Although it appeared in 17 soft-cover fascicles of 10 leaves from June 1885 (similar in appearance to his literary study, *Shôsetsu shinzui* of the same year), it was quick to appear in combined hardback form the following year from Kingyoku Shuppansha.

Similarly, *Imo to se kagami* (Mirror of Mt Imo and Mt Se) appeared in thin pamphlets from late 1885, however the 2-volume form produced the next year preserved the Japanese-bound format, despite being published by the same Kingyoku Shuppansha. In fact this later edition makes it even more *ninjôbon*-like. Its illustrations are also in Ukiyo-e style. The publisher (in collaboration with author, Shôyô) sensed the old themes of the work<sup>48</sup> as opposed to the new ideas in *Tôsei shosei katagi*, and obviously sought to create a fitting format.

One factor along the way in the "mechanising" of script, I believe, was the introduction of *genkô yôshi*, writing paper with lines of square boxes, which encouraged writers to prepare their manuscripts in "block" letters, separated script ready for transferal to movable type. Ironically, early squared writing paper was produced using woodblock printing. During the Edo period it was used to train *kangakusha*, scholars of Chinese, to write correctly in Chinese-style block script, *kaisho*, rather than cursive, *sôsho*.<sup>49</sup> Although the nature of the increase in the use of *genkô yôshi* in the Meiji period is unknown, it was being marketed at Kinseidô in Tokyo by 1892. Higuchi Ichiyô is known to have laboriously hand-lined her own paper, while Fukuzawa Yukichi noticeably disregarded the squares in

---

48. Ref. Joruri, *Imoseyama onna teikin* (Mt. Imo and Mt. Se: an exemplary tale of womanly virtue).

49. Matsuo 1981, 33.

preparing his manuscripts.<sup>50</sup> At any rate, *genkô yôshi* largely succeeded in pushing characters and *kana* into proscribed, calculated boxes to make movable-type printing an easy final step. Shinchôtai type-face in fact looks like cursive script which has been divided up and separated evenly by a squared *genkô yôshi*-like grid.

Although Kanagaki Robun's two *Meiji kokkei kusazôshi* (Meiji period comic picture books), *Fuyu kodachi yami no fukurô* (Winter grove, the owl of darkness [Winter children upbringing, mother of darkness]) and *Na ni Tachibana nochi no Kikusui* (By the name of Mandarin, later Chrysanthemum water) were written just 3 years apart, in 1880 and 1883, both bound Japanese style, they are printed using woodblock and movable type respectively. Despite this fundamental difference, the look of the print is strikingly similar. We are faced with the chicken and egg situation of whether woodblock lettering had come to resemble Shinchôtai type, or whether movable-type setters chose a typeface to lead comfortably on from what woodblock letters had become. And was the separation of letters (which lent themselves to Shinchôtai) a result of the use of *genkô yôshi* manuscript paper? The issue of Bakumatsu (end of Edo) woodblock trends will be raised a little later on.

The 2nd decade of Meiji is fascinating in that both woodblock and movable-type printing, along with Japanese soft binding and Western hardback (some typed books appeared in Japanese soft binding) were being used, often to publish works in the same year by the same author. This was invariably altered by a quick-succession 2nd and 3rd edition printing. Even with Meiji publications, then, we forget, or, indeed, are never aware in what form they originally appeared/were intended to be read. The choice of format would appear to lie first-off in the degree of modernness in theme of the work in question. However, the earliest typeface used was Shinchôtai, which still retained a handwritten feel. By the 1890s it had become universally more economically efficient to use Minchôtai typeface, enabling many more words per page than Shinchôtai, and the woodblock tradition came to an end, and with it the culture of expressive calligraphic style. This was the final wrench away from Edo which had proved difficult to uproot during the 2nd decade of Meiji. We will see shortly that Edo fiction reappears in anthology form in the next decade, enveloped by new values.

The so-called "first modern novel", *Shinpen Ukigumo* (Floating clouds) by Futabatei Shimei, appeared from Kinkôdô in Western-style hardback in June of Meiji 20 (1887). The

---

50. Ibid., 62.

preface of the first edition uses Shinchôtai type-face, trying to suggest perhaps the calligraphy of Harunoya Shujin (alias Tsubouchi Shôyô). However the main text type is square and regular Minchôtai, and uses no different size lettering for expressive effect. There is no punctuation such as commas, however, layout is very much as a Western novel, with frequent use of the Western technique of successive dots to express time lapse or the trailing off of speech. Movable-type printing technology had “progressed” even from the 1st volume published in June to the 2nd appearing in February next year; the 2nd volume has 12 lines to each page opposed to the 11 of the 1st volume, and margins are much larger: as a result the type itself is much smaller and neater. This would appear not only to be a modern novel in content, but to be one of the first works of fiction in modern format.

Futabatei Shimei writes in his essay, “Yo ga genbun itchi no yurai” (I, the founder of my unified style of language unification) of Meiji 39 (1906), of learning from Sanba’s “vulgar poeticality” in portraying the language of Fukagawa dialect.<sup>51</sup> Leutner comments on how Sanba’s work turned out to be a useful guide for translating actual patterns of speech from one medium to another,<sup>52</sup> however influence from Sanba could not extend to physical concerns on the page. Futabatei was already constrained by the “modernness” of his own movable-typed, *genkô yôshi*-drafted work. Although Futabatei Shimei professes to have looked towards Sanba to learn ways of representing speech and rhythm in *Ukigumo*, its movable-type original means he could not possibly have taken advantage of all Sanba’s woodblock feats. We will see in the next section that his supposedly Sanba-influenced novel then provided the format for committing Sanba to movable type on a large scale.

### Modern anthologies

The earliest attempt to put Edo literature into modern movable type on a large scale was the *Teikoku bunko* (Imperial library) series in 50 volumes, begun in 1893, published in Tokyo by Hakubunkan. It was a grand project to create a comparable Western-style canon of national literature. It followed the widely successful *Nihon bungaku zensho* series of Meiji 23 (1890) which transcribed works of the Heian period, and which, a Hakubunkan biography claims, was the first anthology of Japanese literature to be produced, and was crucial in restoring interest in Japanese literature amidst the Western boom.<sup>53</sup> For a generation now insistent on typed Western bound volumes, this was doubtless the case. *Sanba kessaku shû*

51. *Seiji Shôsetsu* 1971, 372-3.

52. Leutner 1985, 13.

53. Tsuboya 1937, 48-49.

(Sanba masterpieces, *Teikoku bunko* Vol.13) appeared in Meiji 26 (1893), the first year of the *Teikoku* series. It includes only *kokkeibon* and *sharehon*, and reproduces only some illustrations. (Pictures were expensive). However, as I remarked in the last chapter, “The preface as prologue to the performance”, this oldest Western-style anthology of Edo fiction nevertheless retained some woodblock features still considered important during Meiji: for example the setting apart of the preface as vital initial reading. We saw this idea also even in the Shinchôtai preface to *Ukigumo* of 1887.

In Meiji 35 (1902) Teikoku Bunko published its second Sanba anthology, *Zoku Kyôden Sanba kessaku shû* (Further masterpieces by Kyôden and Sanba). The preface states that the first collections of these writers were confined to their most famous works, and this continuation includes some less-known ones. The later volume in fact constitutes an entire *gôkan* collection, but no difference in genre is alluded to. In fact, mention of the genre of *gôkan* is nowhere to be seen. We find no illustrations from the *gôkan* included, and the written text of the *gôkan* is presented in the form of a typical Meiji novel as set by *Ukigumo*.

Similarly, *Kibyôshi hyakushû* (Collection of one hundred *kibyôshi*, *Zoku teikoku bunko* Vol. 34) appeared the previous year, without an illustration of the pictorial genre in sight. This situation was remedied in Taishô 7 (1918) by Yûhôtô Bunko in its *Kibyôshi jissu* (Collection of ten *kibyôshi*, *Yûhôtô bunko* Vol. 106) which reduced the number collected to 10, but in return reproduced every woodblock page of the 10 *kibyôshi*, and included transcription of the written text in margins at the top of each page. Included here was Sanba’s *Kusazôshi kojitsuke nendaiki*.

*Shikitei Sanba shû* in *Kindai nihon bungaku taikai* Vol. 17 of Shôwa 2 (1927) introduced a few extra *kokkeibon* and *sharehon* by Sanba, *kibyôshi* being kept separate in its *Kibyôshi shû* of the previous year. Yamaguchi Takeshi stressed the importance of *kibyôshi* illustrations in his commentary. A *gôkan* collection complete with illustrations was yet to materialize.

Recent anthologies have continued sympathetic to the *kibyôshi* format, typically reproducing every image and transcribing the written text alongside. An easily accessible series is *Edo no gesaku ehon* (Koike 1980-3) which gives transcription and notes on each page despite being a pocket-book size.

The importance of the picture has at least been recognized for understanding *kibyôshi*, and more recently, for a *gôkan*, but the value of the characteristics of the woodblock script, has not. One pioneering series in this field was *Nihon meicho zenshû*’s *Kokkeibon shû*

(Shôwa 2, 1927) which, for example, recognised the value of the woodblock version of *Kanedehon kura ishô* (Sanba, 1813), in its make-up of fake Chûshingura documents, by including facsimiles of the whole work. Unfortunately it does not provide any modern transcription.

Transcriptions of woodblock version *kokkeibon* and *sharehon* have become increasingly complicated. In the non-sale series, *Kokumin Bunko* of Meiji 42 we begin to see commas not present in the original or in the *Teikoku Bunko* version *Ukiyoburo* and also a seemingly non-systematic change of some round pause marks to commas. Not only are the texts now surrounded by extensive notes - a trend begun in the otherwise fairly faithful *Kokkeibon meisaku shû* (Mitamura 1936) - the Key to *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 63: *Ukiyoburo* (Nakamura 1957) admits to adding extra punctuation marks; *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû* (Nakano 1971) in particular takes the liberty of transposing Kanji for *kana* etc. “for easy reading”. We have seen that Kanji/*kana* usage can often have significance as regards the reading/performance of the text. Most truthful to the original in this respect, although not keeping the original letter sizing and spacing, is *Iwanami Bunko*’s *Ukiyoburo* of Showa 3 (1928). It is also closest to a *wahon* (Japanese-style bound book) in its small paperback format.

*Shin* [New] *nihon koten bungaku taikei* has been more discerning in what it has added/taken from a text in its formatting. *Ukiyoburo*, *Kejô suigen maku no soto*, *Taizen sekai gakuya saguri* (Vol. 86; Jinbo 1989), a Sanba *kokkeibon* trio, appeared in response to the discovery of a copy of first edition *Ukiyoburo* Part 1, whose blocks burnt in a fire and had to be recarved.

The most recent Sanba anthology, Kokusho Kankôkai’s *Shikitei Sanba shû* (Tanahashi 1992) continues to provide only movable type for his *kokkeibon* though *kibyôshi* feature in full woodblock reproduction (incidentally this collection includes the only Sanba *gôkan* to date to be reproduced in full with transcription, namely *Ude no horimono isshin inochi*). It is in *kokkeibon* where Sanba attempted to show off his novelty the most, yet which suffers the most through modern technology. In Sanba, I have argued, writing *is* illustration – and needs to be considered essential if we are to understand his works. A new approach has been tested upon a Kamigata *yomihon* by Ekkehard May et al (May 2003) who meticulously transcribe, and provide a key to “translate” script-vocabulary on each page of woodblock.

The above anthologies reflect the changing attitudes towards Edo of the Meiji, Taishô, Shôwa pre- and post-war eras. Edo fiction has been and continues to be at the mercy of general publishing trends. It was particularly the *shôsetsu*-like formatting of both *kokkeibon* and *gôkan*, as seen in *Teikoku bunko* series which dominated the Meiji period. This had the effect of obscuring genre differences, and also of super-imposing modern (Western) novel reading practices upon Edo fiction.

In both the composition of a new work and the transcription of an old one, movable-type culture limited possibilities (while admittedly creating new ones), changing the shape of literature physically as well as figuratively.

### Roots in Edo

We have seen how, despite the lengths to which Sanba went to express sound, movement and time on the page, movable type from the Meiji period onwards in many cases has killed off a key element of his art.

Kanagaki Robun (1829-94) is known as follower in the *gesaku* tradition during the Meiji period, and a self-claimed disciple of Sanba's style. His case is interesting because his work transcended Edo and Meiji. He wrote *gôkan* primarily during Bakumatsu, and a few *kokkeibon* limited to a series of *hizakurige*<sup>54</sup> pieces. Meiji saw him switch to *kokkeibon*, or *kokkei kusazôshi*, as they were termed in Meiji. However, Robun's woodblock lacks the vitality of his predecessor. Working to transcend the Edo-Meiji periods in continuing the *gesaku* tradition, *Aguranabe* (Cross-legged round the beef stew-pot) of 1871-2, although very much a *kokkeibon* in physical format, records Meiji speech in less dynamic signs than Sanba did that of Edo. Mertz laments that the language did not yet exist for Robun to express himself,<sup>55</sup> but perhaps present constraints on woodblock expressionism were more to blame. Not only is the woodblock fairly uniform, it has begun to show divisions in its letters. The work of Meiji *gôkan* writers such as Kubota Hikosaku, too, began to look less "gôkan-like" with block-letter Kanji and *furigana*, even though they still used the woodblock medium. This occurs early on in Meiji, and raises questions concerning changes stemming from Bakumatsu in writing habits with possible use of *genkô yôshi*, and/or in reading methods. What would, in modern eyes, be "unkempt" print (a speciality of Sanba), had perhaps been

---

54. Original *kokkeibon*, *Tokaidô chû hizakurige* (Shank's mare along the Tokaidô) of 1802 by Ikku.

55. Mertz 2003, 29.

identified with lack of sophistication and poor technology in the late Edo and early Meiji periods.

What was woodblock like immediately following Sanba? We have already made comparisons of Sanba's *kokkeibon* versus contemporary *hanashibon* and *e-iri nehon*, and found his pages to contain many more concrete clues for performance. If we make comparison with script of other *kokkeibon*: in his preface, Kanwatei Onitake promotes his *Kyûkanchô* of Bunka 2 (1805)<sup>56</sup> as *ukiyo monomane* (performed mimicry) "fude no yuku mama ni" ("as the brush would have it"). Looking at the woodblock, though, the 2nd edition of 4 years later is more dynamic.<sup>57</sup> After reproducing Onitake's hand in the later edition preface through the *kabusebori* technique, the new copyist produces an individual rendition of the main text. Sanba seems to be creating *ukiyo monomane* "as his brush would have it" the following year, Bunka 3 (1806), in *Namaei katagi*. The 1809, 2nd-edition copyist of *Kyûkanchô* had then Sanba's lead to follow.

Late Edo and Bakumatsu writers had the chance to expand Sanba's sign repertoire. But they didn't seem to in any remarkable way. Ryûtei Tanehiko's *Shôhon jitate* (Playscript-built) series of Bunka 12 (1815) onwards is widely considered the epitome of Kabuki representation in book form. Traditionally categorised as a *gôkan*, it uses only speech and song insertions upon a full depiction of stage sets, which compensate for lack of narrative sections. Even though the nature of the dialogue brings it closer to a *kokkeibon*, it does not make use of the sound devices pioneered by Sanba. Illustration, for example, of the mechanical workings of items of scenery overdoes theatrical elements in a way unhelpful towards reenactment. So much so that Sato can only suggest a passive experience for the reader.<sup>58</sup>

Were Sanba's inventions not recognised, understood, or valued? Or was speedy production-cum-money-making the prerequisite as quantity rather than quality became the key theme as the 19th century progressed? Was uniform calligraphy a cheap way to look professional? If so, these ideas emerge during late Edo rather than being a later Meiji imposition. In any case, the extensive use of signs and symbols was not lost suddenly through the intervention of movable type

On the whole, *gesaku* genres after Sanba became greater in length, and time could not be spent perfecting each printed page. This suggests that reading habits including

---

56. Hôsa Bunko, Nagoya, collection.

57. Tokyo Metropolitan Library collection.

58. Sato Yukiko 2001, 165.



attention to speed had already begun to change, and elements for re-enactment were no longer called-for. The exception to some extent was the new genre of *ninjôbon*, especially works by Tamenaga Shunsui; lengthy but dialogue-based, and showing some dynamics in its woodblock.

We have established that Sanba's feats were rare even within later Edo, let alone Meiji, and that the final deed of switching to movable type was not such a great leap, but a natural conclusion to the run of things. There had been sporadic imitation, but no further development, of Sanba's inventions, and late Edo in fact saw the ironing out of much former woodblock vitality.

### Iconic v. symbolic

The relationship between the original woodblock and the movable-type versions of the same text offers clear examples of the iconic versus symbolic signs of semiotics. The iconic sign, first defined by philosopher, C.S. Peirce, somehow resembles or is naturally related to what it stands for, while the symbolic sign is only arbitrarily or conventionally linked with the referent.

In his chapter, "A science of signs", Hawkes considers this relationship, primarily regarding poetry such as Ulysses:

The writer can choose to increase the intensity of [the] *iconic* message, or to decrease it in relation to the *symbolic* message emitted by the 'content' of the writing, depending upon the nature of the total message he intends.<sup>59</sup>

Typed version of Edo texts, as we have been discussing here, only transmits the "content" (symbolic) message.

In rendering the sounds of performance Sanba develops a writing form particularly "iconic" in nature, and very close to illustration. Thus it serves both functions. Sounds are "illustrated" within lines of text. In other words, he was able to iconic-ize the symbolic codes of the play-script. For example, Sanba's distinctive wavy lines are developed from the sideways "V" shaped ditto marks: when they appear in succession they are produced joined together. They are suspended at a level where the echo never drops completely. It is as if they then cease to be mere repeat marks, and come to represent undulation or vibration of voice or sound. Indeed, if we were to produce a mechanical sound graph of the sound effect (for

---

59. Hawkes 1997, 136.

example, the Kabuki stage clappers in fast repetition) it may well resemble Sanba's rendition (although of course no such technology was available to Sanba). [Figure 22A and B, p. 150]

Sanba attempted something particularly extraordinary in *Kejô*, *Namaei* and *Ukiyoburo* I. The question remains, how conscious was Sanba of what he had achieved, and how far can we understand other signs as "shapes" (icons) of their intended rendering.

That is not to say that Sanba was the only one to produce "eye-catching" sound representations in fiction. An extreme example can be found in Kyôden's *Satsuki gejun mushiboshi sogô* of Kansei 5 (1793), where the repeated barking of a dog (*kana* derived from the symbol "maru", used for the sound "wa") creates/becomes the surface of a cobbled road. This shows Kyôden's particular bent towards the artistic and pictorial: it is ultimately aesthetically pleasing, rather than rhythmically, or graphically accurate. [Figure 23]

We were able to find comparisons in other cultures vis à vis memoria-type representative texts in the last chapter. However, where else can we see such dynamic signs as in this transcriptional-type? We have to look to the modern era to find anything which warrants comparison, so perceptive of sound were Sanba's inventions.

The 20th century philosopher Wittgenstein wrote that,

the gramophone record, the musical thought, the score, the waves of sound, all stand to one another in that pictorial internal relation, which holds between language and the world. To all of them the logical structure is common.<sup>60</sup>

Eco interprets this as including a case of primary iconism, which deals here with the iconic relation between sound waves and the actual grooves in the vinyl of the disc.<sup>61</sup> This is pioneering modern period philosophy; in Sanba's time there were neither gramophone records nor sound-wave graphs. Thus I have been struck by the particular iconic value of Sanba's writing of over a century ago and in a relatively isolated culture.

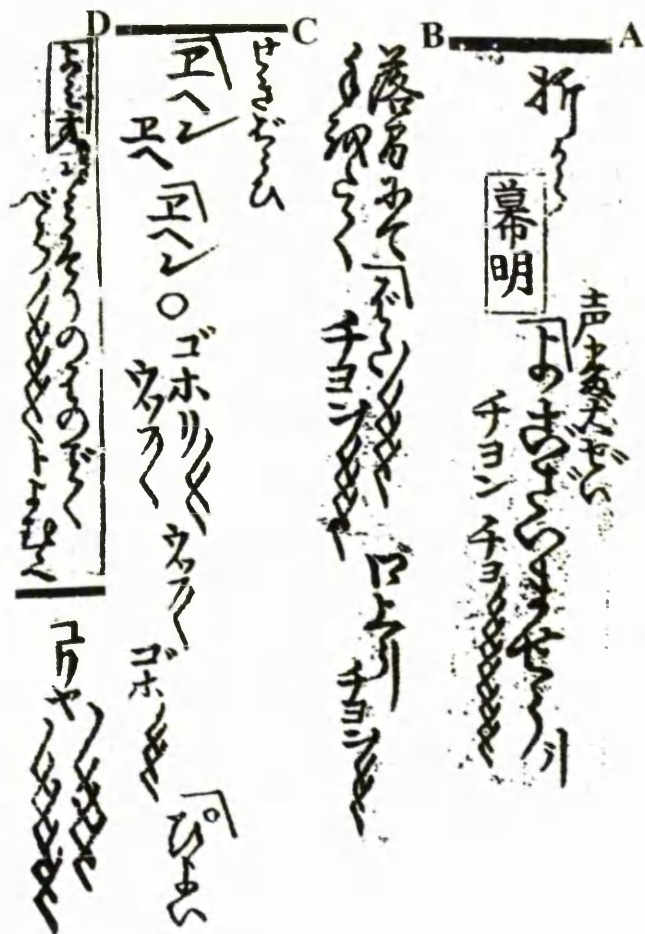
From an artistic point of view rather than a philosophical one, we might look to Dada experiments in sound and typography in its poetry, where "aesthetic strategies depend on the deliberate misuse of convention." It utilized "the techniques of subversion, distortion, and disruption".<sup>62</sup> Similarly Sanba distorts language and treats it with a similar whim as the Dadaists, as something to play on or with. Sanba's playful attitude towards language and script can be seen in digest form in *Ono no bakamura usoji-zukushi*, and in practice in much of his work.

---

60. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, 4.104.

61. Eco 1997, 213.

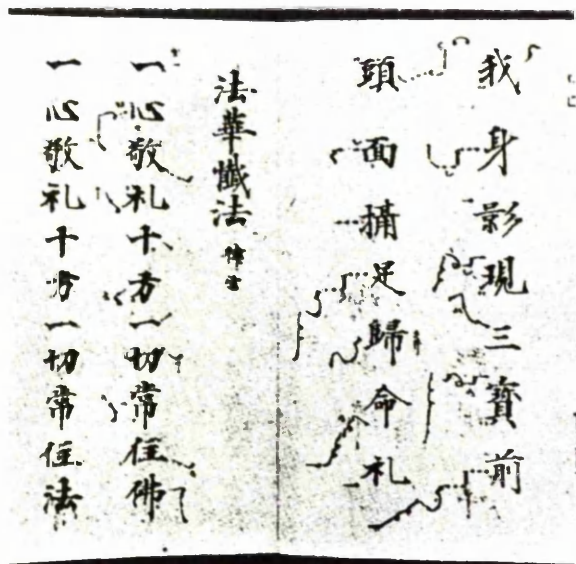
62. Bohn 1993, XV.



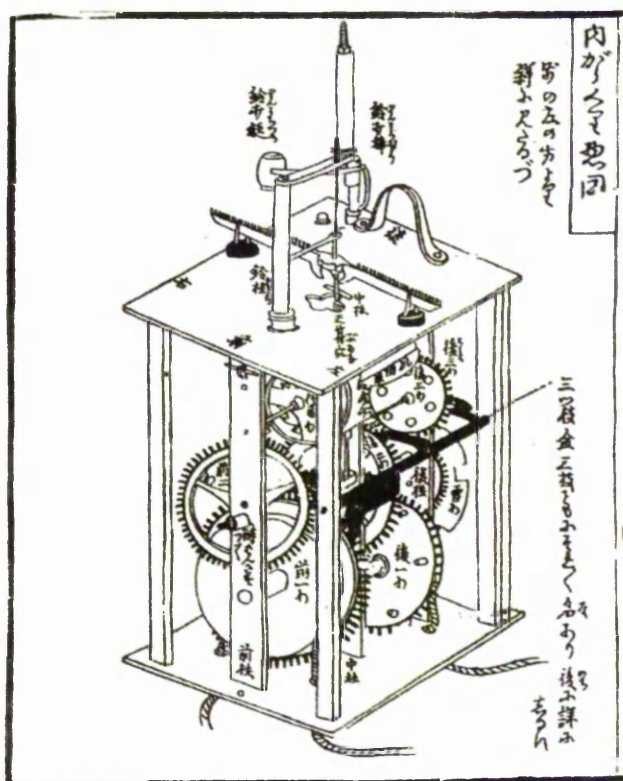
**Figure 22A.** *Kejō suigen maku no soto*. 1806. Diet Library. 39chō u. **B.** 45chō o.  
**C.** *Namaei katagi*. 1806. Hōsa Bunko. 14chō u.  
**D.** 70chō u.



**Figure 23.** *Satsuki gejun mushiboshi sogā*. 1793. (*Santō Kyōden Zenshū*). 5chō u.



**Figure 24.** *Shōmyō reisen*. Ōhara han: meyasu hakase. (*Bukkyō ongaku to shōmyō*).



**Figure 25.** *Hashira dokei*. Kikō zui. 1797. (*Kinmōzui no sekai*). 23kan, 2chō.

Concrete poetry uses typographical arrangement and selection of typeface to express a message complementary to or beyond semantic meaning. Rhythm of a jolting train has been represented through blank space in Osundare's poem, *The Nigerian Railway*:<sup>63</sup> reading time equals letter-space, as I believe it can do in Sanba, although there is constant noise in Sanba's fiction. The consciousness of rhythm and the desire to convey it originates in both genres' performative roots.

Yet, none of these represent performance in quite the same way. Although modern writers could choose, as Hawkes says, to increase the intensity of the iconic message, they do not, due fundamentally to the "forgone-conclusion"-type medium of communication of the modern era.

We must return again to Japan. It has a history of particularly iconic methods of musical notation which may have or may have not influenced Sanba directly. An exhibition of Japanese classical music scores<sup>64</sup> included manuscript examples for Kagura (imperial) music and Shōmyō, a stylized, meditative Buddhist chanting. To the left of each character and running sideways across the page are partly graph-like, series of dots and loops: complex-form notation known as *meyasu hakase*. It is striking how detailed recorded pitch change and rhythm are in expressing the "shape" of the music. So much so, that it would be interesting to compare it with actual modern sound graphs produced from a performance of the notation. As these songs began to be incorporated into Jōruri and Kabuki so too was the notation, but not in such an elaborate style due to space limits and the development of new conventions etc. In one sense Sanba can be seen filling out these scripts once more in his closely theatre-related *kokkeibon*.

*Shōmyō fu* (Voice notation for Buddhist texts) date from the Heian period, and printed versions (*hanpon*) were produced from the 15th century at Mt Kōya press. As *fuhon*, the music score, saw a comeback during the mid-Edo period and began to circulate among the general populace, they could have been absorbed into Sanba's repertoire of dynamics.

**[Figure 24]**

Sanba's ability to record accurately sounds and parts of speech was rooted in his perceptive calligraphy. Through it Sanba began to relate the production of sound and movement with physical shape. But what could have triggered this off? What advantages

---

63. Osundare 1983, 30.

64. Exhibition, "Koten engeki fuhon ten", held at the Waseda Theatre Museum, May-June 2005.

might Sanba have had over his contemporaries, perhaps an opportunity gained only by himself?

We know that there were many mechanical devices such as clockwork which entered Japan during the period.<sup>65</sup> *Karakuri* (automata) had great influence upon Sanba, as we can see just from the titles of works such as *Hayakawari mune no karakuri* (Mechanism for quick changes of heart, 1810), parodying the quick-change technique of the stage and the view-changing mechanism of peep shows. Clockwork had obviously caught Sanba's imagination:

Joy, sorrow, pleasure and pain are all manipulated by strings, and wealth and honour, poverty and baseness run on clockwork. Waxing and waning, flowering and withering...<sup>66</sup>

We also see depictions of cog wheels in literature of the time. For example, Hosokawa Hanzô's *Kikô zui* (Illustrated pieces of machinery) of 1797 gives detailed diagrams of the inner workings of different types of clocks and other pieces of machinery running on this principle. It would have been known that the jagged edges of cogs somehow produced a tick-tock sound, not unlike the "chon chon" of stage clappers. Or maybe the tick-tock sound together with the motion of a puppet contraption helped to broaden Sanba's mind to this image. Could the idea of a projection of some sort representing/creating a sound, have emanated from here? Although lines of repeat marks do exist elsewhere, in Sanba they have evolved into linked zig-zags and become machine-like, mechanised in shape. If this were the case, it is another example of Sanba creating linguistic signs/script from illustrative/visual images. [Figure 25]

A rather more extreme possibility: we know that "an instrument that produces sounds by itself within a box" – possibly a <sup>street</sup> barrel organ of some sort - was an attraction at a *misemono* show in Fukagawa in 1853.<sup>67</sup> A <sup>street</sup> barrel organ had been brought up to Edo by the head of the Dutch East India Company as early as 1789: however, the <sup>senior</sup> ~~Shōgun~~ <sup>Reiji</sup> Sadanobu, was not impressed by it, perhaps realizing it was an instrument of the street rather than the court, and the instrument's final resting place is unknown.<sup>68</sup> Tippoo's Tiger, a European organ encased in a South Indian-made wooden statue of a tiger mauling a European dressed

65. Screech 1996, 82-3.

66. From preface to *Hitogokoro nozoki karakuri* (Peeping mechanism for showing the human heart, 1814). Trans. Screech 1996, 129.

67. Markus 1985, 523.

68. Screech 2000, 262.

to suggest 1790's origin, is further evidence that musical toys of various sorts were being shipped east at the end of 18th century.<sup>69</sup>

The insides of a <sup>street</sup> barrel organ of the sort that reached Edo in 1789 contains various mechanisms; cogs turned by a handle rotate a pin-strewn barrel which comes into contact with a metal comb. Due to their method of working, all of these parts share the jagged edge/zigzag-shaped features. A mere glimpse of the image of the close-set arrangement of pins on a barrel, or teeth of a cog or comb, that is, an image that is associated with a sound, could well have led to such an inspiration.

Clocks in their various forms can be found illustrated in literature from mid-Edo, although they were supposedly restricted to Daimyo possession. Viewed from afar, then, their depiction came to represent the flow of time, for example, an illustration of a free-standing turret clock within the lines of written text in Kyôden's *Nishiki no ura*. As for suggesting a possible experience unique to Sanba, we remember that Sanba, as a boy, had free run of a Daimyo residence where his aunt was employed: he was at liberty to wander the library and read playbooks, which he did for hours.<sup>70</sup> Could Sanba have happened upon other items less familiar to his world, such as a clock to observe and hear at close proximity,<sup>71</sup> whose impact would later fruit with the progress of his calligraphic ability under Sawada Tôkô text-book instruction? If so, Sanba was guided through the *gesaku* business with help at either side from the samurai class and serious-literature publishing.

### Conclusion to Chapters 3 and 4

I focussed on the Kabuki book, *gekisho*, and then on the popular fiction genres of *kokkeibon*, *kibyôshi* and *gôkan* by Sanba, and through examples of original edition wood block printed texts, I showed the extent to which Sanba was interested in representing performance in fictional genres. Performance is represented primarily by two methods in Sanba's fiction: memory-jogging through memoria, and exhaustive "Representational" transcription. Illustration does not play a significant role in representation as in Kyôden (although pictorial text itself is a major means of representing performance).

---

69. The "Tiger of Mysore", belonging to Tipu Sultan, came into the possession of East India Company following his death in 1799; now in V&A South Asia Collection.

70. *Gesaku rokkasen*, 383.

71. The *yagura dokei* (turret clock) clearly shows its working mechanisms. Permanent exhibition at the Daimyo clock museum, Yanaka, Tokyo.

In *The role of the reader*, Eco talks of “open -” and “closed texts” in terms of content, which my notion of two types of written text in Edo fiction seems to resemble. Memoria and transcriptional, as I define them here, correspond to Eco’s description of open and closed texts.<sup>72</sup> The former provides freedom for interpretive choices, while the latter hands everything over on a plate. These two text-types in Edo fiction, memoria and transcriptional, have shown to possess additional identifying features of appearance even before the content is judged.

We were able to treat the *gekisho*, *Yakusha sangai kyô* as a model for the different types of representation, memoria and transcriptional, because they are conveniently sectioned off. In other works the different types combine on the same page and make analysis more difficult. This is not to say that *Sangai kyô* was the first work to separate the different types, but perhaps the first to be consciously aware of them as varying - but united - vehicles for representing performance.

In discussing memoria-type fiction texts I suggested one should first look back from the work of fiction to try to find the performance catalyst. Transcriptional-type representative texts, on the other hand, although necessarily inspired by past performance, have their real performances in future renditions. From their nature, their primary function must be to stimulate new performance.

The appearance of the memoria-type page and the transcriptional-type page are very different. The first can be distinguished by its uniformity and lack of punctuation, whereas the second sports lively orthographic creations. We see both these types feature on the pages of Sanba’s *gekisho*, and combine in examples from his *kibyôshi*. Thus the reader is kept on his/her toes awaiting hints and cues. In his *kibyôshi*, Sanba borrows widely selected elements to evoke a convention of some kind of performance, the multi-framing technique through illustration adding extra intensity to this performative consciousness (and making use of memoria-type representation). The type of performance, apart from specific cases, is usually not especially crucial; the main point was that a convention of some sort of performance was evoked in the readers’ mind. But at the same time, as a fiction writer (as opposed to a script writer), Sanba produced a more accurate (transcriptional) representation of a performance, even be it an imagined one. Other writers’ concerns lay elsewhere. Kyôden’s woodblock appears very uniform in comparison, and pleasing to the artistic eye.

---

72. Eco 1979, 89.



In his *kokkeibon*, the epitome of transcriptional-type representation, we have seen speed, movement and sound implied in the woodblock, which are subsequently lost in movable type. The son of a woodblock-carver and a publisher himself, Sanba was unusually aware of the medium's possibilities. The pages of script are sometimes so animated that they become illustration-like, iconic, themselves. There were typically no illustrations relating to the written text in Sanba's *kokkeibon*. We don't see illustrations of characters, but we can somehow "see" them through the calligraphy. And they were "seen" on a large scale thanks to the woodblock printing medium.

Through the *gōkan* genre he attempted to convey the intensity of performance on the page, as well as introduce whole pages of verbal text, independent of illustration, and employed sound-representing devices as found in his *kokkeibon*. I also indicated that many of Sanba's sound-representing devices are not found in more directly performance-related literature such as *hanashibon* (scripts of story-tellers' stories) in the case of Rakugo, and *e-iri nehon* (illustrated play scripts) in the case of Kabuki, suggesting his renditions are more accurate records of actual performance techniques, within the constraints of a specific genre of fiction.

In *Kejō suigen maku no soto* Sanba fits his story of theatre-goer sketches around/into Kabuki play format. This makes it a straightforward example of a *kokkeibon* for the contemporary reader to have "performed", and for us to analyse, as a kind of Kabuki performance. In the next chapter I shall examine fiction in relation to the rules of composition found in contemporary treatises on playwriting. This will form a basis for analysing other works where performative cues are less obvious.

All the genres I have mentioned are to some extent representations of performance and, as such, vehicles for potential performance reproduction. However, *hanashibon*, published scripts of story-teller's stories, and *eiri nehon*, illustrated play script publications, both timely publications - neither of which Sanba wrote - were more of a memorabilia from a performance, and as such, with a high "memoria" content. Sanba, meanwhile, wrote for a wider audience, for those perhaps who were for various reasons unable to attend live performance yet wanted to experience it as best they could. Hence the development of the exhaustive performance-packed text. We see memoria-type texts decrease and transcriptional-type texts increase as the 19th century progressed perhaps due to this widening readership of fiction (helped by the increase in provincial booksellers and lending



libraries). Readership became too dispersed for any collective memoria-based performance to function.

I conclude that Sanba in particular sought to convey the whole of a (imaginary) performance on the page through a comprehensive set of cues for oral interpretation and re-enactment by the reader. This method of reading was furthermore encouraged by, and intrinsic to, the dynamic symbols littering the woodblock printed page.

We have seen how mid-Edo period fiction writers undoubtedly began to relate the production of sound and movement with physical shape, following on perhaps from an already established Japanese tradition, but in a way unprecedented in other pre-modern cultures worldwide. It is not surprising that any intimacy between performance and woodblock fades with the advent of “institutional” movable type. The abandoning of woodblock printing was a crucial factor in literary modernization. However, this mid-Edo woodblock-based creativity was nipped in the bud with change in commercial values and the call for quantity rather than quality as readership escalated during the 19th century. Not a Meiji-initiated annihilation, then, but one emanating from late Edo cultural practices. Certainly, the intervention of movable type in early Meiji (while still seeking uniform perfection) saw an end to any lingering perceptions of writing itself as icon, and in extension, of it as representing performance.

Through a survey into Meiji I have shown mid-Edo’s outstanding creativity in representing the spoken word etc. on the page. This investigation also reveals that Meiji scholarship is experiencing the same lack of bibliographical emphasis which befell Edo works until a few years back. Meiji books have been rebound rather than preserved in their original forms. Scholarship has addressed the content, but not the format. A brief survey here has shown that these are very much of bibliographical, as well as historical, importance in understanding Meiji culture. Even Meiji, in turn, is in danger of being stripped of its original identity.

## **Chapter 5 : Applying performance analysis techniques to fiction**

We have some research on the relation of theme in fiction and theatre, although not specifically in detail in relation to Sanba. Here I approach the relationship between the two, fiction and theatre, from new angles using the bibliographical information and notions of expression found in woodblock, as established in earlier chapters.

So far I have concentrated on identifying individual examples of how time was expressed through the use of space in the woodblock, and how sound was expressed through the use of shapes. But what are the consequences of these devices in their contexts within a whole work of fiction? By considering overall timing and patterning of a work of fiction by relating it to the various rules used to structure performance seen (and heard) on stage, I show that several genres of popular fiction conform to various criteria pertaining to play construction. I will argue that *gesaku* fiction was in effect a type of performance.

Genre has already proved an important factor in this thesis. The way in which performance is represented in fiction depends greatly on the specific genre of fiction in question – as regards its format as much as its content. Therefore I need to define these differences before I consider in turn the relationship of each with performance and resume the quest for discovering methods of reading.

### **I Genre boundaries**

My discussion has proceeded so far with little reflection on the various fiction genres and their definitions. Although some books fall neatly into one category, many do not. Despite their merits, tomes such as *Kokusho sômokuroku* have welded a single label to numerous, otherwise multi-faceted, works, whitewashing any potential dilemma between theme and format when making this choice. A debate between Nobuhiro and Nagashima has recently called into question the stifling effects of genre classification, and results in the suggestion that many books should be allocated two or three keywords in order to describe them.<sup>1</sup> This would indeed be a helpful addition in modern subject-based, as well as bibliographical, research. This trend for the expanding of ideas can be seen in practice in *Sharehon taisei*'s decision to include most non-*kusasôshi gesaku* of 17th and 18th centuries

---

1. Nobuhiro 2005, 11.

rather than limiting its scope to the standard *kohon* (small book format) compilation of the earlier *Sharebon taikai*.<sup>2</sup>

A several keyword definition is in fact not so anomalous with the way of describing books used during the Edo period. A typical booklist issued from publishers and appended to a publication gives a few words pertaining to content, and always prominent is the physical description: book size, volume number, presence of illustrations etc. Books were not necessarily written with one specific genre type in mind: “genre” is often determined more by the publisher and his commercial considerations such as format, rather than the author and his book content. The physical differences between genres were drawn up traditionally by different types of publishers and their regulations and rivalries.

Two favourite classifications of *Kokusho sômokuroku* which I am also guilty of using are “kokkeibon” and “gekisho”. During the Edo period, *kokkeibon* of the Bunka era onwards (1804-) were referred to as “chûbon” due to their middle (chû) size which was half an “ôhon” (large book). This provided the leeway for producing a non-comic work but still in this format - which is not described by “kokkeibon”. “Kokkeibon” only came to mean “chûbon” in late Bakumatsu.<sup>3</sup> The word “gekisho” too is a modern umbrella term for any non-ephemeral publication on the Kabuki theatre.

Rather than relying on modern-imposed genre labels, how does Sanba classify his own work? In a list of new publications for the year 1810 appended to *Haya kawari mune no karakuri* (Quick-change mechanics of the heart), Sanba’s lists his works, *Akogi monogatari* (Tale of Akogi), *Hayakawari mune no karakuri*, *Ukiyoburo* and *Nana kuse jôge* (Seven drunkards’ habits) under the heading “E-iri yomihon”. *Akogi* marks Sanba’s sole attempt at the semi-serious *yomihon* genre, while the rest are what we know as *kokkeibon*, comic works. Yet, they have all been termed “e-iri (illustrated)-yomihon”. Here “yomihon” must have the definition of “books for reading”. *Hayakawari mune no karakuri* was produced/published by “Nishinomiya Tasuke”, the trade-name of Sanba himself from 1806. The adverts too were likely to have been compiled and worded by Sanba. [Figure 27, p. 172]

We also find Sanba using the two meanings of *yomihon* side by side in his journal, *Shikitei zakki*. As a trained book-dealer he was understandably familiar with book jargon. In the 6th month of 1810, he looks back upon his hits and misses in authorship. He explains the lack of popularity for his multi-*gôkan*, *Otogi monogatari* (Tales of fairy-stories), comprised

---

2. Sharehon taisai henshû iinkai 1978-88; Takagi 1930-32.

3. Nakano 1995, 118.

of three-*gôkan*-in-one, as “due to its imitation-*yomihon* presentation”. (One of the three *gôkan*, he reports, sold much better separately).<sup>4</sup> Here “*yomihon*” must refer to the *hakuwa shôsetsu* (Chinese novel)-style semi-serious genre that is by definition lengthy. On the other hand, he goes on to say, that *Futari kaburo tsui no adauchi* (Two maids’ revenge), really an “*e-iri kana bakari no yomihon*” (illustrated all-kana reading book) but marketed as an imitation-*gôkan*, proved a bestseller. Sanba differentiates between the two meanings of “*yomihon*” in close proximity in his journal by writing “*yomi*” in Kanji to refer to the semi-serious genre, and in *kana* to describe “book for reading”. However this use is not universal. He later talks of *yomihon* with “*yomi*” written in *kana* in contrast to *chûbon*, to refer to *Akogi monogatari* and *Ukiyoburo* respectively.

The use of “*yomihon*” to mean merely “book for reading” rather than the specific semi-serious genre of *hakuwa shôsetsu* origin has not yet, to my knowledge, been defined or differentiated comprehensively. Yamaguchi, writing in 1927, gave a simple explanation of the original term “*yomihon*” as used to denote a book with reading value, as opposed to one with mainly pictorial merit.<sup>5</sup> Yokoyama devotes a sub-chapter, “*Yomihon no meishô*”, of his 1974 work to documenting examples of uses of the word in an attempt to define it. Genres of fiction including *Hachimonjiyabon* and *ukiyôzoshi* were all referred to as “*yomihon*”, although a distinction began to be made in the early 19th century between *ukiyôzôshi*-type works and *yomihon*.<sup>6</sup> A modern definition gives *Hanabusa sôshi* (Book of Hanabusa), largely consisting of a translation of *hakuwa* stories by Tsuga Teishô in Kanen 2 (1749), as the first “real” *yomihon*.<sup>7</sup> Nakano refers to *ukiyôzôshi*-type *yomihon* as “*jihon toshite no yomihon*” (light-fictional *yomihon*), but does not comment on the continued use of the term “*yomihon*” in the “*jihon*”-realm from the Bunka period.<sup>8</sup>

*Yomihon*’s status above *gesaku* fiction is often seen as represented by its larger *hanshibon* (literally, half-sheet book)-size. However, to complicate matters, in separate advertisements of 1801, both Sanba’s theatre books, *Yakusha sangai kyô* and *Shibai kinmôzui* can be found described as “*eiri-yomihon*”, and they were published in the *hanshibon* format. Sanba’s records show no antagonism towards a polyglot of works being listed under the title, “*yomihon*”, and as a writer and publisher we can assume he reflected the times. Other terms

---

4. *Shikitei zakki*, 45.

5. Yamaguchi 1927 [a], 1.

6. Yokoyama 1974, 27-8, 57.

7. *Ibid.*, 59-60.

8. Nakano 1995, 116.

must distinguish between different types of book as necessary. Nobuhiro's idea to give books several keywords would seem to have precedence in the Edo period.

We should also consider what is known as Kamigata *yomihon*. A *hanshibon* (semi-large book) of 1804 from Osaka by Satô Uomaru, *Eiga no utsutsu* (Fortune come real) is a further take on the Noh ballad, *Kantan*, the dreamer of riches, after Koikawa Harumachi famously used the theme in 1775 to create the genre of satirical *kibyôshi* with *Kinkin sensei eiga yume* (Mr Gold's dream of wealth). As *Eiga no utsutsu*'s title suggests, the riches become reality - but only for them to be tricked away again.<sup>9</sup> In its format, jovial content and writing style, it is undoubtedly a (non-*chûbon*) *kokkeibon*, and we even find it included in the catholic *Sharehon taisei*. Thus, in Kamigata, "yomihon" retained its original meaning.

The advantage of Yamaguchi's introduction to *Yomihon shû* is his additional consideration of method of reading. Commenting upon Bakin's semi-serious genre *yomihon* written in 5-7-5 meter:

They were written on the premise that they would be read out in a loud voice (*takadaka to yomiageru*). In this case "reading" (*yomu*) of a *yomihon* signifies the opposite of "looking at" (*miru*) involved in silently "looking at a written text", rather than of "viewing" (*nagameru*) in the "viewing of illustrations". There are also cases when *yomihon* can be understood as books to read out resonantly (*rôrô toshite yomu hon*).<sup>10</sup>

This is evidence that reading methods were not forgotten, perhaps re-highlighted, during the oral-art nostalgic trend of Taishô and early Shôwa. Born in 1884, Yamaguchi quite possibly had first-hand knowledge of enduring Edo cultural practices, and saw a need in early Shôwa to reiterate a past tradition. Unfortunately his "non-academic" perceptions were not passed down through, or discussed in, later scholarship on *yomihon*.

The word *yomi* would appear to be far older than *hanashi*. Medieval *otogi-shu* (story-tellers) were described as performing *yomi* of classics (Genji-yomi, Taiheiki-yomi) as well as *yomi* of their own stories.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, those employed for their eloquence rather than their ability for performing specific stories were referred to as *ohanashi-shu* (jesters), although the differentiation is not always clear.<sup>12</sup> It would seem that *hanashi* and *yomi* were not poles apart, and *yomi* had the idea of reading aloud/performing inherent in it.

---

9. Cross 1999, 2-3.

10. Yamaguchi 1927 [a], 6.

11. Nobuhiro 1969, 307.

12. Ibid., 288.

By the Edo period, *yomi* had come to suggest a performance from behind a book as in a *kôshaku* lecture, as opposed to *hanashi* which was a performance without written notes, the origins of Rakugo storytelling.<sup>13</sup> It is unlikely that the accomplished medieval *otogi-shu* or the Edo *kôshaku-shi* in fact made use of any written texts that were open in front of them, but had them for the sake of definitive convention: after time, a memory-based text would have been “read” from the mind. *Hanashi*, thought to originate from the verb *hanasu*, to release, was commonly written with a Chinese character composed of “mouth” and “exit”. The difference in focus - the written page opposed to the open mouth – indicates how *yomi* and *hanashi* came to differ during the Edo period.

*Hanashi* and *yomi* can help to explain the relationship with, and between, the written genres that they inspired/were inspired by. They can be understood, perhaps, as alternate processes, with *yomihon* (literal) and *hanashibon* potentially alternate physical creations interspersed by *hanashi* and *yomi* performance.

*Yomi* → *Yomihon* → *Hanashi* → *Hanashibon* → *Yomi*

Fiction (*yomihon*) writers are long known to have been inspired by *kôshaku yomi*. It would appear, from Sanba’s words to his pupil, to be common practice to have various texts read out during the composition process. Sanba’s words of advice to his pupil, Bokusentei Yukimaro, dating from Bunsei 3 (1820) are:

If you get carried away listening to parts of Genji ...you’ll wind up with nothing but a warmed-over Genji full of unpleasant-sounding anachronisms.<sup>14</sup>

*Yomihon* is a metamorphosed recording of many elements of performance (not one specific one). As shown in the cycle of reading and performance forms above, *yomihon*, especially one of performative design, is a potential *hanashi* for the general reader. The jotting down of the words from the performance would create a sort of *hanashibon*. A *hanashibon* would probably be unlikely to inspire a further *hanashi* from an amateur; it would be more of a *yomi* (the *hanashibon* genre is a memorabilia of a professional *hanashi* performance, or a bare outline conceived for another such performance). This *yomi*, however, could be transformed into another form (e.g. the Genji recital), thus creating a *yomihon*, which when performed, may contain enough annotation to create another successful *hanashi* performance.

---

13. Ibid. 306.

14. *Gesaku rokkasen* 385; trans. Leutner 1985, 59.

*Yomihon* serves to actively include the amateur and reading public in this reading and performance mechanism. The *yomihon* (*kokkeibon*) does not require rehearsal; it is a ready-prepared performance. A case in point is the *kokkeibon*, *Namaei katagi*. We are provided with enough clues to produce a *hanashi* performance in the style of Jinkô. As we saw in the previous chapters, Sanba managed to skip the role of the *hanashibon* in the process, recording directly (and precisely) sounds in visual forms which were then ready and waiting for re-enactment by another.

A contrasting comparison with *yomihon* and *hanashibon* is that of the *maruhon* (or *shôhon*) and *yukahon* of Jôruri. The *maruhon* is the full, published version of a play complete with punctuation, and sold or lent to amateur chanters. *Yukahon* is the manuscript laid upon the desk before the chanter during stage performance. There is no set punctuation in *yukahon* – the professional does not need it. In any case, the samisen “punctuates” the stage performance.

Nagatomo discusses the appearance in the later 18th century of “*Yomihon jôruri*” (Jôruri reading books) – the result of the wide appeal of Jôruri *maruhon* (scripts) among lay readers.<sup>15</sup> *Yomihon jôruri* was written expressly for the reading public, and not for the stage. The main difference was that *maruhon* contained chanters’ notation, while *yomihon jôruri* did not and could not be used as a chanting script. A trend for “readable” Jôruri found origins in Chikamatsu’s work: “A play by Chikamatsu arouses the emotions when you read it (*yomu toki wa*)”, states a treatise on playwriting, *Kezairoku*, of 1801.<sup>16</sup> Almost all extant Jôruri books, *maruhon* and *yomihon jôruri* alike, have lending library seals or readers’ graffiti: Nagatomo surmises they were all circulated as reading matter.<sup>17</sup> He attributes the disappearance of the seemingly popular *yomihon jôruri* to the effect of the Kansei Reform’s censoring of reading matter but not play-scripts.<sup>18</sup> However, this same era saw the popularizing of stage arts, and it may be that there was increasing demand for scripts with notation; without they were daunting even for the “reader” as opposed to the amateur “performer”. Breath marks, signs indicating timing etc. were perhaps as useful to the reader of *yomihon jôruri* as they were to a chanter of Jôruri.

---

15. Nagatomo 1999, 99.

16. Gunji 1972, 499.

17. Nagatomo 1999, 104.

18. *Ibid.*, 101.

Nagatomo is <sup>undecided</sup>inconclusive as to whether Jôruri was, as a rule, read (yomu) or chanted (kataru).<sup>19</sup> Before raising such issues we need to define the difference between the two in Edo period terms. Firstly, it is hard to differentiate between the *yomi* of performance and the *yomi* of a private reading experience: one must conclude that for all intents and purposes it is the same thing. *Yomi* is a performance, even if not as colourful as a *katari*. “Kataru” is an old word like “yomu”, and with it was formed the word “monogatari” (tale, story) long before the introduction of Jôruri. It was adopted by Jôruri to describe the unique singing style.<sup>20</sup>

We might understand it as follows: there are different degrees to which one can read/perform. The ideal is *katari*. The other end of the spectrum is *yomi*, as in *sodoku* (reading-by-rote) of Kanbun texts. *Katari* techniques might be used for easily identifiable cadences etc. as ability and knowledge dictated. As readers got more proficient there was, understandably, increasing demand for scripts with advanced notation.

In 1927 Yamaguchi defined *yomihon* as a book to read out aloud “resonantly” (*rôrô toshite yomu hon*),<sup>21</sup> a phrase that suggests a chant-like rendition. Although referring to semi-serious genre *yomihon*, in *Kokkeibon shû* of the same year he also notes that, in *Ukiyoburo*, “Sanba prompts the reader with signs for reading aloud” (*rôdoku no chûi o unagasu*).<sup>22</sup>

In explaining early Meiji reading practices, Maeda proposes there were two types of *ondoku*, reading aloud: (1) *rôdoku* – as a method of shared transmission and understanding for the family group in reading *gesaku*, and later *Meiji shiki gôkan* and serial novels; and (2) *rôshô*: reciting in order to realise a rhythm for educational purposes developed from a by-rote reading of Kanbun and *yomihon*, applied later to newspaper articles and the political novel.<sup>23</sup> In this respect he is in agreement with Yamaguchi regards the function of both types of *yomihon*. Within *gesaku* Maeda singles out *ninjôbon* (sentimental genre) in which he notes the use of *kudôten* punctuation as breath-marks.<sup>24</sup> He does, not, however, consider the bulk of *gesaku* fiction, which, as we have discovered, is made up of a variety of (pseudo-) oral arts and literature, each bringing with it its own reading custom.

Another complication in the “reading” debate so far is the long-running pictorial form, *kusazôshi*, the genre prevalent from early Bunka era (1806-), taking over from the

---

19. Ibid., 104.

20. Nobuhiro 1969, 307.

21. Yamaguchi 1927 [a], 6.

22. Yamaguchi 1927 [b], 39.

23. Maeda 1989, 129-30.

24. Ibid., 128.



*kibyôshi*, being the *gôkan*. Honda suggests ways of reading aloud comparable with the few remaining oral traditions of cries of street vendors today – a thought-provoking notion in itself– to apply to *sharehon*, *kokkeibon*, *ninjôbon* and *kibyôshi*. Yet he classes *gôkan* with *yomihon* in a separate group whose reading method resembles the rhythm of a *kôshaku* lecture.<sup>25</sup> Not only is there a lack of consensus between Maeda and Honda on what reading aloud might entail for different genres, Honda has split the allegiance of *gôkan* from its precursor, *kibyôshi*, to semi-serious *yomihon*.

We need to return to the Edo era for clues. *Akogi monogatari* and *Ukiyoburo* etc. are listed under the heading “E-iri yomihon”, whereas *gôkan* appear separately as “Ezôshi gôkan” in the advertisement appended to *Haya kawari mune no karakuri*. The broad term “yomihon” is used to mean simply “non-kusazôshi”. During the Edo period, then, consciousness of a larger genre gap would appear to lie between that of *kusazôshi* and *yomihon*.

The difference between *kusazôshi* and *yomihon* is commonly explained as a convention in publishing. *Kusazôshi* are published by their specialist publishers, while *yomihon* are in the realm of the more exalted *mono no honya*, publishers of “serious” literature. However, we find that this treats *yomihon* to mean the semi-serious lengthy genre, and that particularly *chûbon*-size, *kokkeibon*-type *yomihon* appearing from the Bunka era (1804-) are sometimes published from the *kusazôshi* specialist publishers, called “e”-*zôshiya* (publishers of picture books). They were after all, “e-iri”-(yomihon) [“picture-inserted” reading books], and had been re-sized to match *kusazôshi*. The difference between *kusazôshi* and *chûbon/kokkeibon*-type *yomihon* must lie elsewhere.

*Kusazôshi* are what Sakai has termed Gestalt type, fiction relying on pictorial illustration for its comprehension.<sup>26</sup> Although *kokkeibon* such as *Ukiyoburo* are described as *e-iri yomihon* (as indeed is *Yakusha sangai kyô*), the illustrations do not affect the reading or understanding of the main written text. *Yomihon* versus *kusazôshi* must refer to a difference in reading habit or practice. Thus, it is primarily a method of reading that keeps *kokkeibon* and semi-serious *yomihon*, somewhat antagonistically, lumped together in relation to *kusazôshi*. Until the shrinking of size of the *kokkeibon*, the respective publishers were very much genre-conscious. Continuing discrimination between *kusazôshi* and *yomihon*

---

25. Honda 1990, 4.

26. Sakai 1991, 173.

throughout the Edo period suggests the reading process was understood to be at variance, even if the differences are not absolutely clear to us now.

### *Kokkeibon-like gôkan*

Sanba nevertheless tried to break down the genre boundary further. In Sanba's *gôkan*, Sato Yukiko has observed that from an early date the narrative text sometimes either replaced the speech/comment illustrations completely, or more often constituted the larger part of the page. The result being that illustration became a less essential, or separate part of Sanba's *gôkan*. Large amounts of dialogue began appearing in the main text, which also led to his introducing the renderings of sounds etc. to the predominantly narrative genre of *gôkan*.<sup>27</sup>

Sanba describes *Futari kaburo* and *Mukashi uta kuruwa no hajimari* (Songs of old: the origins of the pleasure quarters) as types of *shôhon* (Jôruri text), a further classification of "yomihon" in the *Haya kawari* advert. Both of these are now often classified as *gôkan*, but cannot be true ones because, due to their sporadic illustration, they deny the Gestalt-type reading context. Further confusion has arisen due to their being termed "chûbon gata yomihon" by Sanba himself, and their containing many pages of unillustrated text, which at a glance are reminiscent of *yomihon*, semi-serious genre. As the term *chûbon gata yomihon* suggests, they are medium-sized books, as opposed to the normally semi-large (hanshibon)-size *yomihon* which just slid into the realm of serious literature. The "sub-genre" of *chûbon gata yomihon* which peaked in production in 1808 with about 20 works by authors such as Jippensha Ikku and Kanwatei Onitake only to dwindle thereafter, were characteristically handled by both serious literature publishers and picture-book publishers.

Tanahashi inconclusively states this must mean those *chûbon gata yomihon* of Sanba lie somewhere between the semi-serious genre of that name and *gôkan*, and credits Sanba with two more *yomihon* because of them.<sup>28</sup> Sato has since failed to find *yomihon* tendencies in these works,<sup>29</sup> precisely because there are none. Although termed *chûbon gata yomihon*, marking a superficial attempt by Sanba to put his *gôkan* into the realm of serious *yomihon*, these are more reminiscent of the type of *kokkeibon* with which he had already proved a popular success.

---

27. Sato Yukiko 2001, 118.

28. Tanahashi 1994, 203.

29. Sato Yukiko 2001, 115.

Sanba himself admits in his journal to the flop of his only true Chinese-styled *yomihon*, *Akogi monogatari*.<sup>30</sup> Inoue sees limits within Sanba's hitherto unappreciated knowledge and understanding of Chinese texts: Sanba had the ability to translate, but not to imitate writing style.<sup>31</sup> As with *Akogi*, the *chûbon gata yomihon*, *Mukashi uta kuruwa no hajimari* has passages translated from a Chinese novel, namely *Gohôgin* (Five phoenix songs), which this time seems to have passed by Bakin's eye unnoticed.<sup>32</sup> This work succeeded where *Akogi* did not - in its not being a *yomihon*; we see Sanba attempting to bring *hakuwa shôsetsu* into the realm of more accessible popular fiction (Late Edo *gesaku*).

The *gôkan* format, where illustration traditionally took up the entire page, lacked the room for dynamic script. Sanba found in the *chûbon gata yomihon* genre the space for this. Thus, his *chûbon gata yomihon* prove to be of a different lineage to others of that name written by his contemporaries. It is quite possible that businessman-Sanba used the term "chûbon gata yomihon" in order to be purposefully ambiguous. On the surface he would be giving his work credence by appearing to aspire to semi-serious *yomihon* status. But in fact, the *yomihon* genre does not come into the equation: understood with *yomihon* in its literal meaning, a *chûbon gata yomihon* is none other than a *kokkeibon*. I suggest the term provided an excuse for Sanba at any rate to write more *kokkeibon*-like works while seeming to follow the *gôkan/yomihon* genre trend.

We see several of what I have called "*kokkeibon*-like *gôkan*" in addition to *Futari kaburo* and *Mukashi uta*, such as *Itsutsui otoko hayari Utagawa* (Pair of fashionable men: Utagawa) of 1810. The trends in Sanba's *gôkan* identified by Sato such as independent or separate illustration, and the renderings of sounds etc., are as found dispersed at intervals in his *kokkeibon*, and throughout the dialogue of *kokkeibon* respectively.

Sanba's characteristic *gôkan* pages of unillustrated text, are "Representational type", and begin to physically resemble the pages of his *kokkeibon*. Contrastingly, the *kuchi-e* (frontispieces) in his *kokkeibon* are barely distinguishable from the "visually noisy" illustrations (short lines of speech scattered over a busy scene) sporadically found amidst the verbal-text pages of his *gôkan*. An example of this is the *kuchi-e* before the main text in the *kokkeibon*, *Ukiyodoko* and a double-page scene in the *gôkan*, *Mukashi gatari kama ga fuchi*, both of 1811. It is clear that they are both created from the same design. Removed from their book formats, it is impossible to tell if these pages are *kokkeibon* or *gôkan*. Both contain

---

30. *Shikitei zakki*, 46.

31. Inoue 1987, 56.

32. *Ibid* 58.

snippets of colloquial speech with onomatopoeic sounds. In the *Ukiyodoko* illustration a character urges those around him to listen while he reads out a piece of writing. The “reading” activity of these pictures themselves was surely an equally lively, noisy and communal affair. [Figure 26A and B, p. 171]

Conversely, wholly *gôkan*-like *kokkeibon* (at least in relation to format) can be identified in *Ippai kigen* (Well away on one glass; 1813), *Hayakawari mune no karakuri* and *Chûshingura henchikiron* (Odd take on 47 masterless samurai; 1812). A reason for this concerning *Hayakawari mune no karakuri* of 1810 could be tied to the observance that the block carver, Kikuchi Môhei, in fact Sanba’s real father, was at the same time carving the blocks for a *gôkan* of the same year called *Hayakawari kufû adauchi* (Quick-change device revenge) by Kentei Bokuzan, and information may well have changed hands.<sup>33</sup> In another case, the lengthy frontispieces of *Chûshingura henchikiron* are Sanba’s original, whereas the main text is largely taken from Henkutsu Dôjin’s *Chûshingura jinbutsu hyôron* (Critique of characters in 47 masterless samurai) of 1781. It is the several pages of frontispieces that are particularly reminiscent of *gôkan*.

The above comparisons are epitomized by the highly performance-centred, dialogue-based, and “Sanba-like” *kokkeibon* (i.e. *Ukiyoburo* [1809], *Kokon hyaku baka* [A hundred fools past and present, 1812], *Inaka shibai chûshingura* [Provincial theatre 47 masterless samurai, 1813], *Kyôgen inaka ayatsuri* [Plays of provincial puppetry, 1811], *Shirôto kyôgen monkirigata* [Amateur theatre crests, 1812] and *Namaei katagi* [1806]).

Even in his “*gôkan*-like *gôkan*”, those traditionally combining written and pictorial text on the page, Sanba, preoccupied with the rendering of speech in the main text, sometimes instructs the reader to look at the pictures in order to grasp the story-line, as Sato indicates.<sup>34</sup> The narrative, for Sanba, is the least important part, relegated to indirect existence within the illustrations. The flow of the dialogue-ridden main text, one senses, is interrupted by the illustrated figures: small signs are found indicating order to aid its smooth reading.

Sanba produced *gôkan*-like *kokkeibon* as well as *kokkeibon*-like *gôkan*. We could understand this as his attempt to break down the boundaries between the two genres of fiction. As proposed earlier, the genres seem to be separated primarily through difference in

---

33. Tanahashi 1994, 227.

34. Sato Yukiko 2001, 62-3.

reading habits relating to Gestalt and Representational form. Whatever the differences, Sanba would appear to desire to eliminate them.

In his *gôkan*-like *kokkeibon*, however, the likeness with *gôkan* is, more often than not, superficial. The illustration is in general not crucial for the written text's comprehension. *Gôkan*-like *kokkeibon* do not otherwise belong to any other category as regards content, influence or inward style (Honda has categorized Sanba's 23 *kokkeibon* into groups of dialogue based/non-dialogue based, oral arts-influenced, *ugachi*-reliant, character sketches etc.<sup>35</sup> However, we find "*gôkan*-like *kokkeibon*" scattered throughout all categories and there is no pattern concerning them). Throughout Sanba, then, regardless of genre definitions, we see a tendency to verbalize rather than illustrate, and to create Representational-type texts; in other words, texts which stand on their own and lend themselves to re-enactment by the reader. Whatever the differences in method of reading actually were, this is the one Sanba shows preference for.

### Plagiarism and *shukô*

The first to accuse Sanba of plagiarism was his arch-rival, Kyokutei Bakin, in his manuscript, "Heiben", whose derogatory title was written with a character showing "Three horses" which Sanba devised in *Ono no bakamura usoji zukushi* to describe himself. It was a criticism of Sanba's *Akogi monogatari* of 1809, by which Bakin sensed an invasion of his own "*yomihon* territory". Even Sanba, however, admitted his lack of success with the semi-serious *yomihon* genre.

Sankô, a pupil, explains in the postscript to *Kakusha hyôbanki* (Critique of the audience) of 1812 that Sanba believed in "'What one picks up along the way'-style of learning". This was aided by the environment he found himself in (a serious book publisher's) where he could pick up snippets of learned information, and also by his desire to collect wide-ranging material from the past. Even Bakin, after venting his anger in "Heiben", has to admit later in *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* (Kinsei books: categories of authors of Edo) of 1834 that, "Although lacking formal education, Sanba was talented".<sup>36</sup>

Sanba released the *kokkeibon*, *Chûshingura henchikiron* (1812) in much the same form as Henkutsu Dôjin's *Chûshingura jinbutsu hyôron* (1781), and it is also clear that he merely changed *ukiyo-zôshi*, *Seken musume katagi* (Worldly daughter's character, 1717) by

---

35. Honda 1973, 282-4.

36. Kimura 1988, 49.

Ejima Kiseki into *gôkan* format to create his *Nyôbô katagi otsunae nushi* (Wife's character: rope that ties a couple together) of 1816, to name but a few of Sanba's material-borrowings. However, these adaptations are efficiently and skilfully done, again testimony to Sanba's "craftsman's approach" to authorship, Nakamura observes.<sup>37</sup>

In discussing *Shibai kinmô zui*, Hattori has come close to the notion to be handled here (though not since expanded), that Sanba mixes and matches forerunners' *gekisho* in the same way as a Kabuki writer adapts plays.<sup>38</sup> Hamada is not so gracious, accusing Sanba of blatant theft from several sections of Hôseidô Kisanji's *Ukan sandai zue* of 1793.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, the lengthy frontispieces of *Chûshingura henchikiron* are Sanba's original, whereas the main text is largely taken from *Chûshingura jinbutsu hyôron*. The frontispieces are typical of Sanba's skill, providing amusing monologues by each character.

Sanba knew how to produce (others have used the word plagiarise): it is *Shibai kinmô zui* and *Chûshingura henchikiron*, not the victims of the pillage, namely *Ukan sandai zue* and *Chûshingura jinbutsu hyôron*, which have survived the passage of time. Later impressions of *Shibai kinmô zui* originally of 1803 have been found dating from 1806, 1839 and 1842, and there are also many facsimile editions produced during Meiji and Taisho eras.<sup>40</sup> And as suggested in Chapter 4 relating Sanba to Kamigata theatre, it may well have been the success of *Henchikiron* which led the Osaka publisher, Kawachiya Tasuke to request Sanba write a preface for the *Chûshingura*-themed *e-iri nehon, Ehon iroha moji chûshingura*.

The late Bunka era (c 1812) marks a peak in Sanba's output, and it is his senior Kyôden who gives Sanba venerable status: writing in the preface of his *gôkan, Matsukaze murasame monogatari* (Tale of pine breeze and sudden rain) of 1813, he, Kyôden, "had been flicking through the numerous pieces of *gesaku* by Master Shikitei, observing the advances achieved, and understanding for the first time the changes in fashion". Despite this admission by Kyôden, Bakin states in *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* that it was Sanba who constantly imitated work by Kyôden.

Sanba's so-called plagiarism is a type of *shukô*, Nakamura has argued in Sanba's defence. In the same way that we call adding a new theme to an old plot in theatre "shukô", so we can in fiction; writers took pride in elaborating and adapting *shukô* taken from works

---

37. Nakamura 1987, 379-380.

38. Hattori 1969, 4.

39. Hamada 1993, 218-221.

40. Hattori 1969, 7-8.

that came before.<sup>41</sup> Nor is this method of composition without literary acknowledgment: the Western reception theory of 1970s speaks of “the ‘strategies’ which put a text to work, and of the ‘reportaires’ of familiar themes and allusions which they contain”.<sup>42</sup> Edo plot construction also makes use of innovative strategies (*shukô*) which make the traditional, familiar themes acceptable once more.

As described in Part I of Chapter 3, common with “oral” traditions of all ages and cultures was the Edo lack of writers’ copyright. There was a vast pool of “texts” that could be freely drawn upon, which are subsequently “represented” by the current piece. Thus one is reluctant to accuse Sanba of plagiarism. Bakin’s criticism is in fact quite modern in concept. Sanba’s methods, which have been described both as plagiarism and *shukô*, in fact fit precisely the memoria culture that I have shown was Edo.

Regurgitation of theme can also be understood as accompanying the cycle of reading and performance forms: *shukô* constantly moves around the string of *yomi*, *yomihon*, *hanashi* and *hanashibon* described earlier. *Shukô* could transcend genre, but complicates the matter of a single genre label.

Kern reiterates Nakamura’s insights into how indebted fiction was to techniques of *shukô* from the theatre such as *naimaze* (re-takes), *fukiyose* (adaptations) and *mitate* (parody) in providing fiction with easy-assemble themes to keep up a “conveyor belt” of works for New Year marketing.<sup>43</sup> *Yakusha sangai kyô* borrows from the story of *Wasôbei*, a travelogue of a journey through fantastic lands invented in a *kokkeibon* of 1774. The Superficial Kingdom and Antiquarian Kingdom in *Wasôbei* clearly lend themselves to a rehashing as Sanba’s Theatre Facade Province and Stage Province. Danjûrô VI and Chikamatsu are the *shukô* – real-time characters superimposed upon the story. *Wasôbei* and Danjûrô VI are mentioned in the preface and opening remarks (what I call the initial performance); however, Chikamatsu is the hidden *shukô* which only readers to the end of the text encounter.

One source of “plagiarism” for Sanba may have been the theme of the theatre, however I contend that it was not just influence from content and techniques of theme selection that fiction cleverly purloined from the stage, but its composition methods too, we shall discover in the next section.

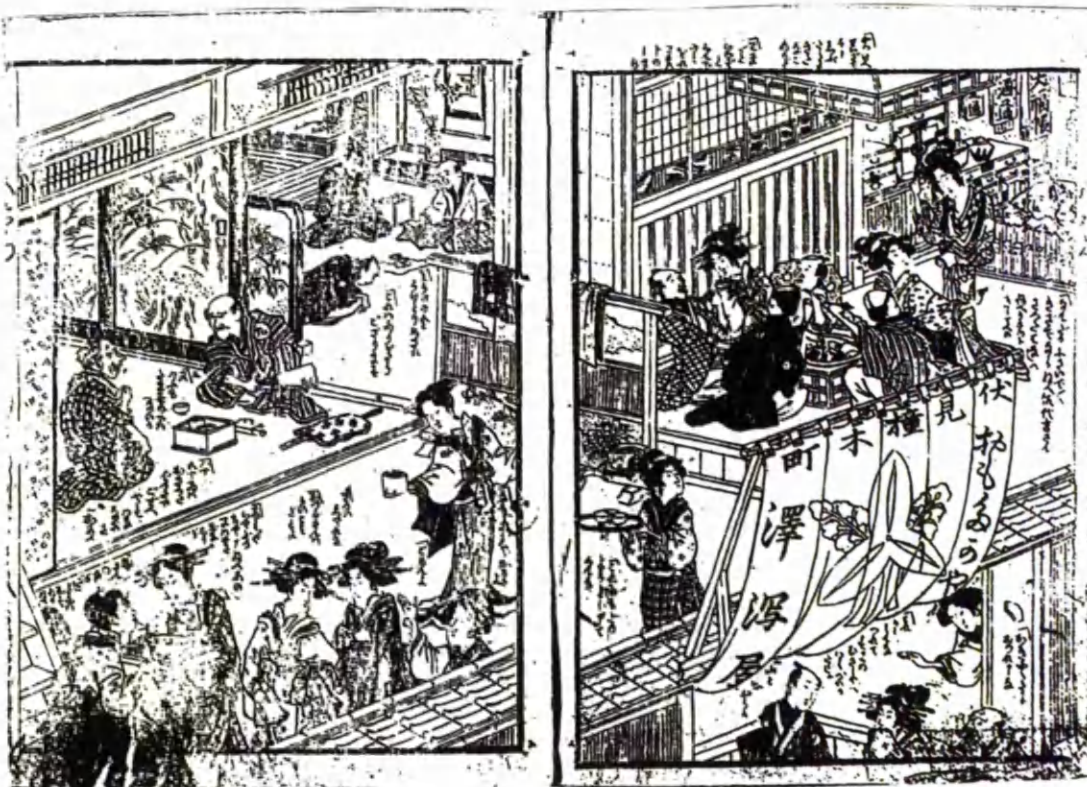
---

41. Nakamura 1982, 145-6.

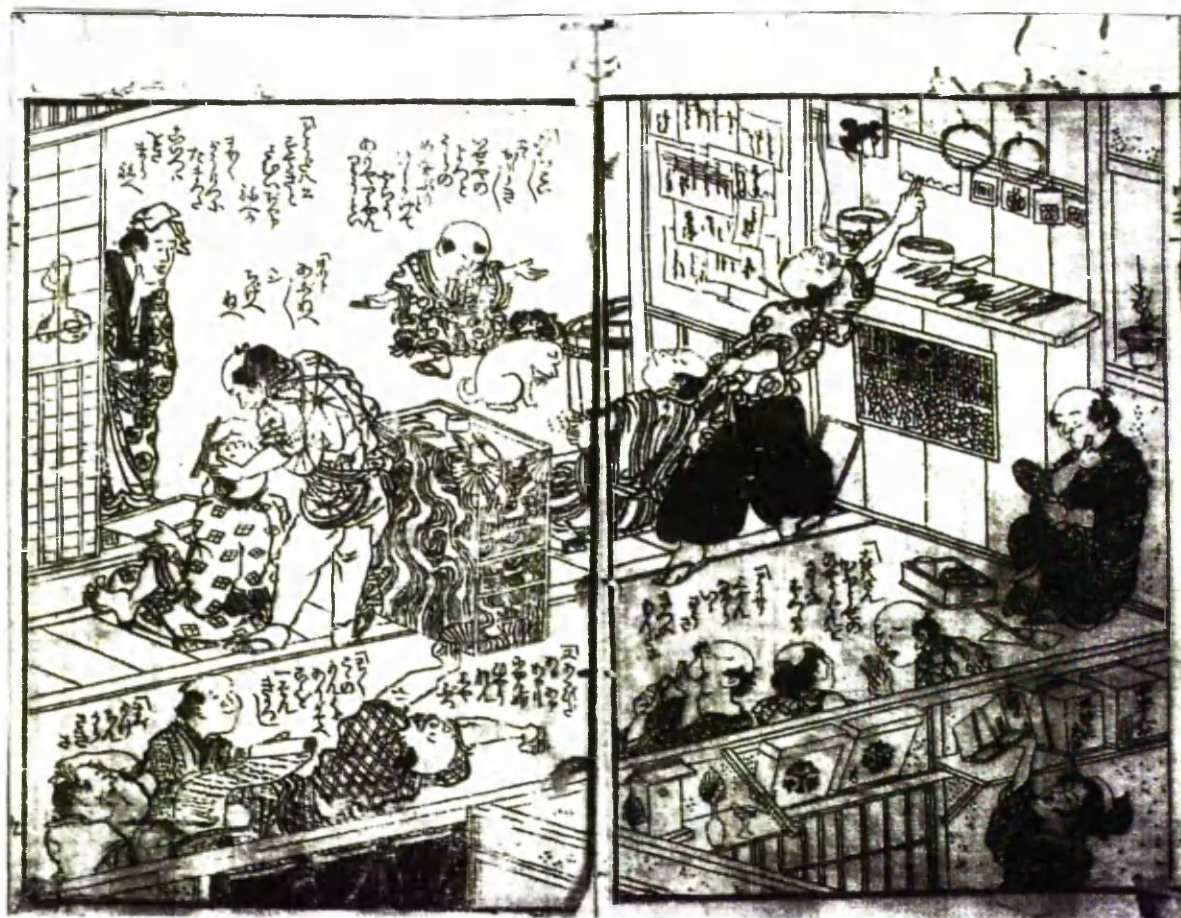
42. Eagleton 1983, 67.

43. Kern 1997, 157-162.





A. *Mukashi gatari kama ga fuchi*. 1811. Kano Bunko. 7-8chô.



B. *Ukiyodoko*. 1811. Tokyo Univ. Library. 8-9chô.

Figure 26.



〇 替禮 昔形福壽盃 五冊 北川美九画 〇 親爲孝太郎次第 四冊 北川美九画	〇 繪草紙合卷本之部 通計二種 西宮新六版	〇 早替胸のかうり 中本冊 歌川豊國画 西宮新六版	〇 正本 紅蓮五足 昔咲花街始 全冊 歌川國貞画 鶴屋金助版	〇 佐々 浮世風呂後編 女湯之巻 全部二冊 北川美九画 石渡平八版	〇 佐々 七癖上戸 新水鳥記 全部三冊 歌川國貞画 西宮新六版	〇 繪入 阿古義物語 一名大蔵十人 歌川豊國画 鶴屋金助版	〇 讀本 阿古義物語 全部八巻 歌川國貞画 代水屋宇兵衛版	當午春新版 式亭三馬著作讀本標目 隨其表出不拘次第 第四回 扱も市川三舛ハ二代目近松大王と ありたりと	
---	-----------------------------	------------------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	----------------------------------	--	--

Figure 27. Hayakawari mune no karakuri. 1810. (Shikitei Sanba shū). Advert.

三舛公のか入りくくと二とるひけバ  
 是より二代目近松大王とまりさや  
 扱も市川三舛ハ二代目近松大王と  
 ありたりと

Figure 28A. Yakusha sangai kyō. 1801.

Cambridge UL. Vol.2, 12chō u. B. 14chō o. C. 14chō u.

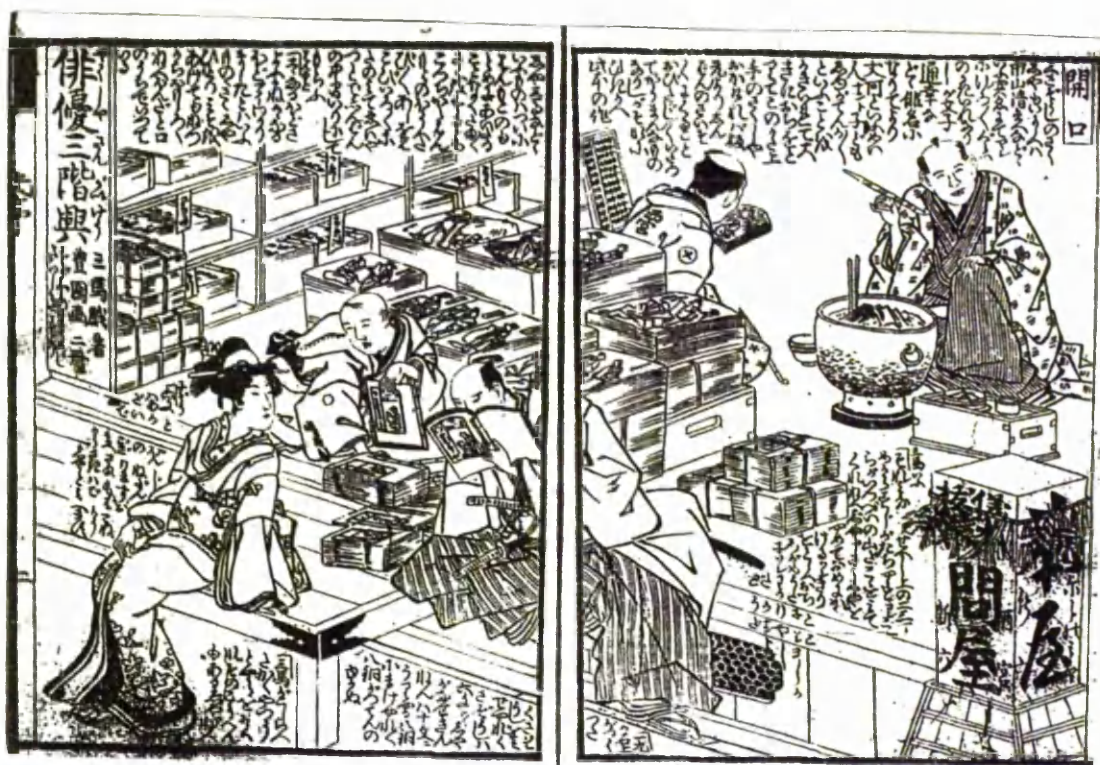


Figure 29. Shikitei Sanba umubore kagami. 1801. Tokyo Metro. Library. 1-2chō.

## II Fiction as theatre

### Valuable notes on (play) writing

*Kezairoku*, “Valuable notes on playwriting”<sup>44</sup> is a manuscript completed in Kyôwa 1 (1801). The author, Nyûgatei Ganyû, is thought to be the pseudonym of the Osaka playwright Namiki Gohei, who later became Namiki Shôzô II. Although originally from Osaka, he was summoned to Edo in Kansei 6 (1794) by a touring Kamigata playwright. By Kansei 12 (1800) Gohei had become chief playwright of Nakamura-za in Edo, moving to Ichimura-za the next year. He brought with him from Osaka many elements of the Kamigata stage whose incorporation into Edo theatre was epochal - such as realistic-style acting and the separation of the day’s programme into 2 parts.<sup>45</sup> *Kezairoku* essentially describes Kamigata Kabuki, but was influential in changing Edo playwriting. The theatre Sanba knew by this time was one already reshaped by Gohei.

Sanba began to write *gekisho* and *kokkeibon* at around the same date as *Kezairoku* appeared (in fact, it and *Sangai kyô* are both of 1801). With Sanba’s relations with the theatre world, it is quite possible he was acquainted with its author, or had access to the manuscript, or was even party to discussions of its themes. Whatever the case, we find many parts of *Kezairoku* can be applied to Sanba’s methods of writing: firstly, concerns such as the whole set-up of the writer’s relations with others in book production. For example, from the section titled, “What playwrights should know”:

The theatre [world of *gesaku* fiction] is our castle, the financial backer [book dealer] and the manager [publisher] are the generals, the actors [woodblock cutters] are the brave soldiers and the playwrights [authors] are the strategists. If the strategist does not have authority, the soldiers do not follow orders, and then the preparations for the various battles arrays which we call the play [publication] become disordered. Because of this the enemy – the audience [readers] – is unbeatable, and in the end, sadly, we will be as the rank and file, mere fillers for the ditches.<sup>46</sup>

By <sup>replacing</sup> ~~transposing~~ the words *theatre* for “world of *gesaku* fiction”, *financial backer* and *manager* for “book dealer and publisher”, *actors* for “woodblock cutters”, *playwrights* for “authors”, *play* for “publication” and *audience* for “readers”, the truths about book production (as seen in Sanba) are vivid.

As with fiction writing, playwriting was not considered a profession in early Edo. Thereafter the status rose to independence, and playwrights came to oversee the entire play production process. One of the “Playwrights’ duties” in *Kezairoku* is to prepare rough

44. Gunji 1972; Trans. Saltzman-Li 1994.

45. *Nihon bungaku daijiten* Vol. 4, 549.

46. Gunji 1972, 502; Trans. Saltzman-Li 1994, 104-5. [ ] are my insertions.

drawings for the billboard. He should also give instructions concerning the notebook for set properties or write it himself.<sup>47</sup> A parallel situation can be seen in fiction writing where we often see Sanba's hand in the cover design. The author also provides a plan of illustration and text layout for the artist and copyist, or, as we have seen in Sanba, sometimes provides the clean copy himself.

Section "Information on the assignment of scenes to playwrights" suggests allocating 1st and 3rd acts to lesser-ranked playwrights. Other acts and the finale should be written by the lead playwright.<sup>48</sup> Standard in theatre, but not so usual in fiction of this era, was the practice of *hosaku* (co-writing) engaged in, on occasion, by Sanba and his particularly large periphery of students. Rakutei Bashô, along with two other of his pupils, is listed under "correctors" in *Kejô suigen maku no soto*, for example. Sanba returns alone, however, for the postscript, the "finale". The two of them combined their efforts (*gôsaku*) to write *kokkeibon*, *Kyôgen inaka ayatsuri* of 1811. Bashô was actually a professional Jôruri chanter with experience of provincial tours, who may have provided Sanba with knowledge of dialect and theatre-speak.<sup>49</sup> Sanba supposedly helped Shinoda Kinji, in fact a playwright, "decipher" (fake) old documents pertaining to the Loyal retainer incident, which were designed in woodblock to create the *kokkeibon*, *Kura ishô* (Gleanings from the storehouse) of 1813. The list goes on of *hosaku*-like alliances, with his frequent crediting of pupils with "adjustments" in his *gôkan*.

"Playwrights' attendance at work" 's advice on writing an overnight play reminds us of Sanba's one-night hasty creation of *Namaei katagi* as well as the 9th -13th day feat of *Ukiyoburo*, as he would have it in the prefaces. Although referring to love suicides' coverage, *Kezairoku* suggests listening to discussions at the scene, and choosing simple, traditional *shukô*, but emphasizing catchy dialogue with current idiomatic expression.<sup>50</sup> Sanba listened too well to gossip in the case of *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki*, and paid for his perceptiveness in manacles. Vital for preparing a quick overnight play, states *Kezairoku*, is, firstly, visual interest at the curtain opening, heightening to avoid loss of interest.<sup>51</sup> As we have seen, the opening pages of *Ukiyoburo* are certainly "visual" in their dynamic lettering, heightening to more complex verbal altercation. Aims also appear to coincide: a play's

---

47. Gunji 1972, 510; Saltzman-Li 1994, 163.

48. Ibid., 517; Ibid., 150.

49. Tanahashi 1994, 91-2.

50. Gunji 1972, 517; Saltzman-Li 1994, 170-1.

51. Ibid., 515; Ibid., 172.

“meaning is rapidly communicated to all, irrespective of wealth, age or sex, and even to a total dunce, these plays attain their aims”.<sup>52</sup> Sanba constantly stresses his fiction is “easy to read for women and children”.

A particularly ground-breaking theorizing in *Kezairoku* is its handling of the *sekai/shukô* relationship in plot design. It is interesting that the Latin word *textus* comes from the verb meaning ‘to weave’ and is reminiscent of “Tatesuji/yokosuji”, the warp and woof, a clear analogy used in *Kezairoku* to explain the *sekai/shukô* structure of a Kabuki play.<sup>53</sup> An early reference to the word *shukô* is found in *The actors’ analects*, published in 1776. *Sekai* is defined in *Sekai kômoku* (*Sekai* outlines), a manual for playwrights giving role-names for 142 *sekai* from before the 1790s. However, *Kezairoku* was the first work to state clearly the relationship between these two elements involved in play composition in Edo period Japan.

The first to raise these themes, was, in fact, the Chinese *Kanjô guki* (Xianqing ouji, Casual expressions of idle feeling) by Li Yu, published in China in 1671. It is a system of 300 essays in 8 fields including, “Writing plays” and “Putting on plays”. In his first section dealing with drama, “Writing plays”, Li Yu takes an unprecedented systematic and analytical approach to playwriting, as described by Hanan. He begins with plot construction, by which “he means the choice, first, of new subject matter, and second, of an initial conjecture, his so-called ‘governing element’, which will result in a unified play”.<sup>54</sup> These seem to correspond to the *sekai* and *shukô* discussed in *Kezairoku*; further evidence of the possible circulation of Chinese *Kanjô guki* during this period.

The second dramatical section, “Putting on plays”, is pioneering in its handling of performance, not just written text. Li Yu puts speech on a par with song – a revolutionary idea.<sup>55</sup> He offers advice on its enunciation and delivery, including the subjects of emphasis and rhythm. These are all areas we see Sanba actively concerning himself with in his fiction. In other words, Sanba seems to re-enact much of Li Yu’s theory, while in Chapter 2 we identified several bibliographical links between Li Yu’s books and Sanba, the author and publisher. Yet Sanba is not among the list of *gesaku* writers (Gennai, Kyôden and Bakin) hitherto mentioned in association with Li Yu.<sup>56</sup>

---

52. Trans. Saltzman-Li 1994, 103.

53. Gunji 1972, 511.

54. Hanan 1988, 199.

55. Ibid.

56. Oka 1997, 578.

## Discovering theatrical rhythms in fiction

Sanba may well have been influenced by Li Yu's teaching in his choice of focus in his fiction. Chapter 4 identified individual instances of rhythm from the theatre being rendered in fiction through the woodblock medium; here I shall identify various theatrical rhythms echoed throughout a work of fiction.

The *jo-ha-kyû* "pacing principle" describes the five movements of a Noh play: *Jo-ha* (in three sub-sections) –*kyû*; the introduction, intensification (leading to a climax), and quick conclusion. As defined by the 14th century "Father of Noh", Zeami, in his *Nôsakusho sandô* (Three elements in composing a play), the *jo* concerns the side actor (*waki*); the *ha* sees the entrance of the main role (*shite*), an exchange between *waki* and *shite*, followed by a dance piece; the *kyû* involves vigorous movement to a brisk rhythm.<sup>57</sup> In his treatise, *Takenoko shû*, (A collection of bamboo shoots) of 1678, the Jôruri playwright, Uji no Kaganojô, describes Noh as the parent of Jôruri, and that Noh should act as the source of all Jôruri.<sup>58</sup> We thus see the 5 acts of a Jôruri play, and to a lesser extent Kabuki from which it borrows its structure, adhere to these principles.

Takemoto Gidayû, in the preface to *Gidayû collection of Jôruri scenes* of 1687, writes on the question of tempo that **Act 1** (*jo*) on the theme of love, the final scene of which is particularly crucial, should be followed by **Act 2** (*ha* I), Shura, battle scene, the pace of the rhythm of which should continuously vary from slow to quick and from quick to slow. **Act 3** (*ha* II)'s pathos marks the heart of the play, where expression of emotion should be utmost. **Act 4** (*ha* III) is the Michiyuki, travelsong, which has extended pauses and more gentle chanting, followed by **Act 5** (*kyû*), the auspicious conclusion, focusing on the distinct language of individual characters.<sup>59</sup> We find content and framework are more or less re-iterated in *Kezairoku*'s "Methods for plot construction" of a Kabuki play, written in 1801.

I will show that rules pertaining to a play in the making can, furthermore, be compared to strategies found in fiction writing. In Sanba's *gekisho*, *Yakusha sangai kyô* we find *waki* (Danjûrô VI) and *shite* (Chikamatsu) meet in the way prescribed by Zeami. Takemoto Gidayû's teachings on tempo in Jôruri also prove relevant to each section of *Sangai kyô*. The differences in type of text of each section of *Sangai kyô* have already been explained through characteristics of punctuation. Jôruri's Act 1: theme of love corresponds with the **Section 1** of *Sangai kyô* where we are encouraged to fondly recollect Danjûrô VI.

57. Trans. Rimer 1984, 149.

58. Trans. Gerstle 1986, 183.

59. Gerstle 1986, 192-4.



**Section 2** describes his journey through the Kabuki Kingdom, slowing to observe at times, speeding up at others; reading time is regulated by the advent of punctuation - we no longer have the opportunity to digress - and it resembles Gidayû's instructions for Act 2. As with Act 3 of Jôruri, the fiction climaxes in **Section 3** with Danjûrô's audience with Chikamatsu and the latter's touching speech – punctuation is used to increase the effect. **Section 4's** answer to an Act 4 Michiyuki is a narrative of their tour of the kingdom upon the back of the Danjûrô emblem crane. The postscript can then be interpreted as the Act 5's auspicious conclusion, where Sanba returns to relate, beginning "As for myself...", his own theatre-going experiences as an occupier of the humble pit.

In the "flow" chart in *Kezairoku*, "Things playwrights should know: the tradition of the five flowers and ten leaves",<sup>60</sup> *sekai* leads to *shikumi* (plot development) and *shukô*, which in turn tie to the *jo* (introduction) / *ha* (development), and *ha* / *kyû* (finale), respectively. The *shukô*, then, marks a change in the proceedings from the original *sekai* in the early *ha* section. We definitely see this in *Sangai kyô* with entrée King Chikamatsu well into the story. Interestingly, we find the re-defining rulebook and the unexpected example of its execution, i.e. *Kezairoku* and *Sangai kyô*, date from the same year: 1801.

Inherent in *jo-ha-kyû* is what Gerstle terms the Buddhist "cyclical journey" of Japanese drama, the "pattern of auspicious beginning, journey through the agonies of hell, and return to the auspicious ending".<sup>61</sup> In fact the whole day's performance is guided by *jo-ha-kyû*, as well as fracturing down as far as each "primary unit" (Gerstle's term for the most basic musical phrase) so that there are many *jo-ha-kyû* cycles within others. The smallest of primary units, however, is still comprised of 5-7-5 meter verse. Primary units usually begin with a *ji* or *ji iro* (song or parlando) line and end with a *fushi* (musical cadence), and can vary in length from a single line to several pages. They involve a gradual increase in tempo to a sudden climax, followed by a short slowing-down.<sup>62</sup>

*Jo-ha-kyû* is never such a precise measure in performed Kabuki as in Jôruri because the timing is largely in the hands of the actor. Firstly, not all Kabuki speeches conform to the 5-7-5 meter. "Timing" does not refer to the clock time taken to perform a play, but to using time to calculate the up-most effect from climaxes and cadences. The *jo-ha-kyû* pacing principle in Kabuki is closely connected with (a) the actors, but can also be influenced largely by (b) the audience. Here we take this "inner" *jo-ha-kyû* another step away from its

60. Gunji 1972, 508; Trans. Saltzman-Li 1994, 132.

61. Gerstle 1986, 5.

62. Ibid., 40-1.

source by relating it to the formation of a work of fiction, re-allocating the above roles to those of (a) woodblock expression and (b) the reader.

*Sangai kyô* is an unusual work because it does not belong to any particular genre type for which we can make generalizations. However, for reasons ascertained in Chapter 2 - precisely because it is unusual and largely unknown - it is an important work to consider. Its 4 sections are separated using *kai*, a divisioning counter usually seen in Yôkyoku, Noh song texts. The word itself, “*kai*”,<sup>63</sup> meaning literally (as well as the Kanji’s physically resembling) the revolution of a wheel, suggests each of the parts is a round story returning once again to the main thread. We have seen how the specific punctuation features of each *kai* help to define the dramatical tempo expected in relation to rules of playwriting. ***Kai 1*** creates a full cycle by beginning and ending on a religious note. Starting from a mention of Mencius’ justification of entertainment and the Shinto origins of theatre in Kagura, the eventual Buddhist mourning of Danjûrô is reached via a more secular description of nostalgic theatre talk. With yet no structured storyline it represents the *jo* of the work.

Pace increases with *ha* I in ***Kai 2*** as a rough 5-7-5 meter tempo kicks in after a promising narrative start of “*Saru hodo ni*” (Once upon a time). Here circularity comes from physically ending up where one started – at the entrance to the Kabuki kingdom after a narrated journey round 2 provinces. The section ends with “*Gakushû e to zo isogikeru*” (Off they hurry to the Greenroom province), reminiscent of the major *sanjû* musical cadence encompassing a 5 syllable line (such as “*isogikeru*”) in Jôruri which marks the end and beginning of a new cycle at a change of scene. For example, in *Imoseyama onna teikin* (Mt Imo and Mt Se: an exemplary tale of womanly virtue) by Chikamatsu Hanji, “The Mountain scene” opens with “*kakeri yuku*” (gallops off) flowing over from the previous scene.<sup>64</sup>

***Kai 3***: attention in this section begins with Danjûrô and his arrival in Greenroom province, shifts to Chikamatsu during his monologue, returning to Danjûrô as he is declared the new king – the climax of the whole work, as expected in a *ha* II. ***Kai 4*** remains on a high (*ha* III) as the two travel together and Danjûrô learns more about his realm. Sanba himself brings the tale to a hasty end (*kyû*).

The inner *jo-ha-kyû* of *Kai 3* can be recognised in Danjûrô’s arrival (*jo*), meeting with Chikamatsu (*ha*), and the crowning of Danjûrô (*kyû*). Within these sections too we can begin to detect further breakdowns:

---

63. 回

64. Gerstle 1990, 123.

A large entourage accompanied Ichikawa Sanjô to King Chikamatsu's reception palace, where he was set down outside the doors. A young samurai appeared from within wearing an iris-design coat, returning immediately and leaning down upon both hands before the king, announced, "May I be permitted to inform you of the arrival of his honour, Ichikawa Sanjô VI, the flower known to all from the east of the land of Japan in the southern provinces!" The elderly Chikamatsu nodded, "What's that you say? Can it be that the great Sanjô is come? Make preparations for all to receive him in costume." "It shall be done forthwith, your excellency." "Firstly show the dear fellow this way!" *Tap tap* of the off-stage music as cue, he entered to the crescendo of the doormen's cries: "Make way for his honour, Sanjô! Make way!" The two voices echoed far as Sanjô stepped quietly in...

Gerstle et al. have executed a thorough breakdown of the Jôruri play *Imoseyama onna teikin* into its primary units to explain the workings of the *jo-ha-kyû* principles in action. In *Onna teikin* the spoken call of Lord Daihanji's name on his entrance, " 'Daihanji Kiyozumi-sama on-iri nari' to shirasuru koe" ('Make way for his lordship, Daihanji Kiyozumi!' voices announce), is noticeable in its overlapping with the end of the last scene which included a dramatic final cadence (*fushi*), so that another smooth transition has been accomplished.<sup>65</sup> With this set way to introduce important characters, pronounced given time and intensity, a similar effect might be created in *Sangai kyô* in the passage translated above when Sanjô (Danjûrô VI)'s arrival is announced to Chikamatsu, "Sanjô kô no o-iri... o-iri..." (Make way for his honour, Sanjô! Make way! [Figure 28A, p. 172]) – after the bustling of preparations at the end of the old scene, the new one of their interview has begun. Thus, primary units within the text can start to be identified.

King Chikamatsu's interview with Sanjô (Danjûrô VI): we are told that Chikamatsu opens a fan and adopts a style, "Jôruri no shosaburi nite" (with the intent of giving a Jôruri recital) for this. His formal speech would cue a rendering in the same male warrior style in which we hear Daihanji speak in *Onna teikin*, as recorded aurally and analysed by Malm.<sup>66</sup> Work on Kabuki *jidaimono* samurai voices has brought Iezzi to a similar conclusion of the emphatic glissando she describes as "Attack the second syllable and drop the end of the line".<sup>67</sup>

As with *Onna teikin* which constantly shifts its focus from one side of the river to the other between the forbidden lovers, *Sangai kyô* transfers from one location and incident to another. The Jôruri study shows, in *ji* narrative passages, words are declaimed to emphasise their importance, the notation mark "naka", indicating low pitch, is present in these cases in the original score, calling for a downward motion of the melody.<sup>68</sup> Used beside words

---

65. Malm 1990, 239.

66. Ibid., 232.

67. Iezzi 2000, 65-68.

68. Malm 1990, 70.



indicating place-names and transition, this notation would suit *Sangai kyô*'s shifting and contrasting scenes and sights among the provinces of the Kabuki Kingdom. Another common feature between the two texts, *Onna teikin* and *Sangai kyô*, - be one aural and the other written - is the illustriousness of the protagonists. Pronunciation of Daihanji's name, for example, is weighted in a steady "u" mid pitch,<sup>69</sup> as we might imagine were worthy of Sanjô and Chikamatsu. With this type of basic convention second nature to Jôruri theatre-goers, as well as amateur chanters, a large number of readers would, I believe, automatically interpret the text in this fashion where such clues presented themselves.

Gradually, in this way, we can put together a voiced version of some parts of *Sangai kyô* using Jôruri conventions. Not everything is Jôruri-inspired however, demonstrating the hotchpotch make-up of fiction. Within the Jôruri-like framework there are parts from other genres which would require a different type of rendering. Sanjô (Danjûrô VI) is a Kabuki actor, and the land he is in, the Kabuki Kingdom. As a memorial piece to him, we need to do him credit by recalling some of his idiosyncracies. Some other parts resemble the *dangibon/kokkeibon*, *Wasôbei* from which it borrows its basic "fantastic journey" storyline, and such sections must echo the reading style and conventions of that genre 3 decades or so previous.

Referring to *The Actors' analects*, collections of advice from Kabuki greats, Iezzi writes how, alone, these written texts do not tell enough about how the word is spoken, but do in light of present-day Kabuki vocals.<sup>70</sup> Centuries apart, these are not necessarily representations of exactly the same thing. Safer might be to look more contemporarily: important in the communicating of rhythm in fiction, at least, is the woodblock script. Another stutterer to appear in Sanba's work in addition to the familiar Butashichi of *Ukiyoburo* met in Chapter 3, is Domo no Matahei, a well-known character from the Chikamatsu Jôruri, *Keisei hangon kô* (Courtesan of the hangon incense). We meet him in Sanba's *gôkan* of 1808, *Domo no Matahei ga no Sokedachi* (The stutterer Matahei, master painting assistant). Unlike Butashichi, Sanba's Matahei is not to be laughed at; his stuttering is pitiful, thus subtle and subdued. He is a talented artist, who cannot find work because of his difficulty in communication. His will is so strong, however, that a picture he paints of

---

69. Gerstle 1990, 125.

70. Iezzi 2000, 9.

himself on a stone basin seeps through to the other side. His determination is acknowledged, and he receives a name from the Tosa School of art.

“Dust in the ears”, a piece in *The Actors’ analects*, records Sakata Tōjurō’s advice on perfecting the stuttering role:

In a play called Muramatsu, Tōjurō had the part of a stutterer. On the first day, whenever he stuttered, the audience thought it very funny and laughed... “This is because I had not worked sufficiently hard at the part and from tomorrow I shall make them weep,” he said, and just as he intended, weep they did. ...I was stuttering inside my mouth, to that extent my words lost their rhythm, and that is all there was to it”.<sup>71</sup>

Tōjurō’s later performance was not comic; he seemed to be stuttering due to loss of rhythm. Similarly, Domo no Matahei, in Sanba’s *gōkan*, stutters round a 5-7-5 meter which continues throughout this work, so that each time his repetition overruns the count the flow is momentarily broken, but is resumed immediately afterwards. Also, Matahei’s “woodblock” stuttering is not visually obtrusive on the page, contained in the form of diminishing repeat marks and standard *kana*. Butashichi in *Ukiyoburo*, on the other hand, is actually rhythmic in his repetition of syllables, as defined by bold, variant woodblock signs, which makes it the more humorous.

Although there was infinite potential to design words in woodblock and Sanba used it to effect more than most, it was not exploited more than necessary. This is because it would detract from the reading rhythm, deemed the most crucial element to be represented in a woodblock text of this sort.

A modern study identifying rules of rhythm in performance has been Iezzi’s thesis, *Rules of Kabuki speech* (2000). She has worked in the opposite direction by using technology to create accurate sound-graphs of speeches and identifying rules of rhythm and pitch therein, while we have been trying to fathom how to read Sanba’s graph-like signs which I believe use space and height in the same way that graphs illustrate speed and pitch. Just as her graphs represent no more (or no less) than the shapes of the sounds, neither does Sanba in his woodblock.

Approached from this different angle, in describing the graphs she has created from Kabuki speech recordings, Iezzi notes that “The shape of the contour is given precedence over the natural accent of the word”.<sup>72</sup> Kabuki speech tends towards chanters’ pronunciation

---

71. Trans. Dunn 1969, 91-92.

72. Iezzi 2000, 184.

which emanates from the unnatural roundness of a Jôruri score, whose semi-iconic presence produces the characteristic vocalization.

The dense and rounded script of a Jôruri *maruhon*, although not representing speed in the way it is written (although certain additional markers are used for doing so), is somehow synonymous with the tortuous twisting of the *gidayû* chanter's mouth and the round vowels emitted. Uji Kaganojô in *Takenoko shû* of 1678 that:

The mouth must study and master the syllabary so that it can smoothly and distinctly recite the text; each syllable must be carefully enunciated, yet not be stressed too much.<sup>73</sup>

Although it could potentially delay, command, timing through its circularity, space does not exactly equal time on a Jôruri score. It is furthermore the samisen which adds punctuation to the performed text. *Jo-ha-kyû* and other laws of timing must be dictated in the end by the chanter and, not to forget, samisen player:

The samisen player is actually closest to being a director or conductor... the music of the samisen delineates the structure of the play, for, with its preludes and cadences, the samisen signals the divisions throughout the performance, and in this way controls its rhythm.<sup>74</sup>

In fiction we have found significance of the rhythm echoed by the length and size of the woodblock lettering – has this compensated for the lack of chanter and samisen decision makers? Woodblock expression remained controlled, despite potential anarchy. This is because the rhythm was at all times encased in the shapes, even though we might have largely forgotten how to read them.

### **A day's theatre programme/the run of fiction**

The first words Sanba ever put to paper, the preface of *Tentô ukiyoe no dezukai* (King of heaven and the floating world puppet-manipulators on view) of 1794, is a parody stage announcement (*kôjô*), where he likens his debut work to the opening theatre performance at the New Year. From the outset, Sanba's career is a performance; in Sanba's mind's eye, *kibyôshi* were set on stage.

The theatre experience begins with the door-opening first thing in the morning, not just upon commencement of the main play. The reading experience, too, does not just begin from the main text, but upon the turning of the front cover. We can learn about contemporary

---

73. Gunji 1972., 403; trans. Gerstle 1986, 185.

74. Gerstle 1986, 9-10.

theatre itineraries largely from Sanba's "model" writer-cum-publisher, Hachimonjiya Jishô, in his abundant *gekisho* appearing throughout the ages. There are many similarities between a full programme at the theatre, and a piece of fiction considered cover to cover, most notably in the work of Sanba.

*Shiki sanba-sô* was a dance performed at the beginning of each daily performance during the late 18th century. It derived from the Noh, *Okina* (Old man), a ceremonial dance of Buddhist origin. An actor of comic Kyôgen roles playing Sanba-sô would then dance a light-spirited imitation of Okina's movements. In the Kabuki version the comic Sanba-sô becomes the central character. This performance we can see "represented", or "metamorphosed" in Sanba's prefaces, before the main text (comparable to the main play of the day) commences: his prefaces often containing Buddhist terminology, are commonly signed off with, "Tarari-rô ni oite, Shikitei Sanba (At Tarari studio, Shikitei Sanba) or such-like, suggesting the *Shiki sanba-sô* dance piece on which his name is a parody, and the call made during it, of "Tô tô tarari". The pun is reiterated in *Yakusha gakuya tsû*'s preface where the publisher visits "Sanba sôsô [early] at Sanba-sô curtain time" to strike the deal. In *Sangai kyô* this is taken further with a frontispiece illustration of Sanba himself (his Kanji appear on his black court-style costume) performing the *Sanba-sô* dance. Takemoto Gidayû writes in his treatise on the structure of Jôruri, how the prelude is necessarily *Sanba-sô*, yet "[t]he choice of the opening prelude depends on the feeling in the piece".<sup>75</sup> Within Sanba-sô there are many different versions: within Sanba's fiction there are many different preface performances tailored to introduce each main text.

Next in the theatre programme came *waki kyôgen* (side drama). A celebratory piece specific to a theatre, this was usually performed by lesser actors. We are reminded of the "preface performance" discussed in Memoria section of Chapter 3; a concrete event noted in the preface or opening remarks giving specific reasons for the work of fiction, often featuring individuals such as the publisher or artist, who, indeed, do not appear as characters in the main text. Following on, the *jobiraki* (prologue), a humorous 1-act, usually dealt with some sort of searching for riches. One wonders if this was translated into, for example, Sanba's depiction of the publisher, Nishinomiya's greedy demands for new business. We often find felicitous frontispieces and short anecdotes before the main text in all genres of Sanba's fiction.

---

75. Gidayû collection of Jôruri scenes: Preface (1687). Trans. Gerstle 1986, 192.

“The theatrical experience begins before the curtain opens... The drum marks the entry into the world of fiction and imagination”.<sup>76</sup> The drum beats calling for this mindset are represented at the end of many prefaces as he signs his name, and before the main text begins. The main play started with Ichibanme, a *jidaimono* (period piece) of 5 or 6 acts, followed by Nibanme, a *sewamono* (domestic piece) of 3 acts, which we can see mirrored in the lengths and formats of a 5-6 volume *yomihon* and a *kibyôshi* of 3 booklets respectively. The main play during Sanba’s era was in the process of being separated into 2 titles and themes – a history play and a real-life drama - due to influence from Kamigata theatre brought by Namiki Gohei, alleged writer of *Kezairoku*. Most of Sanba’s *kibyôshi*, however, kept to the traditional custom of a 3 *maki-sewamono*, leading off from a *jidaimono* scene necessarily involving emperors or samurai to a version set among commoners. *Kibyôshi*, *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki* begins at court in the world of *Taiheiki*, and gradually shifts to the antics of fire-fighters. *Gôkan* gradually began to take over the role of representing the *jidaimono* of Kabuki upon the development of its own *sewamono* element following the separation of the main play. The *gôkan*, Suzuki has noted, not only bides by the play *sekai/shukô* structure, but also adheres to the official order of beginning with a story involving aristocrats, continuing into a tale of commoners, and ending with a meaningful compromise struck between the two worlds.<sup>77</sup>

The “pattern of auspicious beginning, journey through the agonies of hell, and return to the auspicious ending, is... the cyclical journey or progression of Japanese drama”.<sup>78</sup> The end of fiction too sees the situation restored, and “Medetashi, medetashi” (All ends happily) is a conventional way to sign off. In the *ôgiri*, the finale, the main playwright returns to office to do his showdown, “concentrating on befitting language”, as *Kezairoku* tells us. The last page of a *kibyôshi* or the beginning of the postscript of a *kokkeibon* is often where the author picks up on the essence of the piece of fiction and gives a version personal to him (often exemplified by an illustration of himself in role in a *kibyôshi*, or a handwritten postscript in a *kokkeibon*). There are numerous comparisons and counterparts, then, to be found in theatre and in fiction.

---

76. Gerstle 1986, 7.

77. Suzuki 1961, 18-19.

78. Gerstle 1986, 5.

### *Kokkeibon and e-iri nehon*

We can say that *e-iri nehon* may be the closest literature to plays, but Sanba's *kokkeibon* such as *Kejô suigen maku no soto* are closer to "performance". As their name suggests, minus the "*e-iri*" (inserted pictures), the *e-iri nehon* is a Kabuki play script ("*nehon*" in Kamigata, "*daihon*" in Edo). They would seem to be word-for-word, down to stage directions, with the play manuscripts. The only differences between *Yakusha hama no masago* (Myriad of actors, like sand on a beach) of 1803 and the original play-script, believed to be from the time of the first staging of *Kinmon gozan no kiri* (Temple gate and the Paulownia crest) in 1778, Kawai attributes to the honing of the script as the daily performances progressed, and this is expressed through the *e-iri nehon*.<sup>79</sup> It is an amalgamation of performance.

Jôruri texts, on the other hand, do not describe stage moves and effects, although character action/scene description feature in the *ji* (narrative) sections. *Ji* is part of the performed play, part of the *jo-ha-kyû* meter. So, *ji* should be counted in *jo-ha-kyû* analysis, while Kabuki play-script stage directions, such as "yoroshiku" (free to ad lib), "dôgu tate" (scenery change), "uchidashi maku" (final curtain), should not.

Thus, in extension, *e-iri nehon* are complete play texts but incomplete performances, and also do not lend themselves to *jo-ha-kyû* analysis, although in the following section I hope to show that true fiction actually does. Sanba's *kokkeibon*, in contrast to *e-iri nehon*, represent a complete performance (be it imaginary and farfetched) and can be analysed as such. We saw in the last chapter how rhythmically correct Sanba's renditions are.

For example, *Yakusha hama no masago* has "Chon chon nite.." (Action takes place to the sound of "chon chon" clappers). The action only lasts the time taken for the two hits, but the whole explanation has become lengthy. Sanba, however, makes use of "chon chon" within the flow of the main text. Similarly, stage directions appear within an actor's speech – space defies reading time.

The underlying question remains of the function of *e-iri nehon*. The 1805 impression of *Yakusha hama no masago* includes a statement (*kôjô*) by the Wakayama publisher, Obiya Ihei, who claims the publication to be intended for trainee actors, and suggests the reader enjoy the old-style speeches with reference to the actor portraits.<sup>80</sup> Along with their counterparts in the world of Rakugo of *hanashibon*, they were at least for the more talented

---

79. Kawai 2003, 23.

80. Ibid., 14.

amateur to create a play by constructing rhythm and *jo-ha-kyû* that is not on the page, as opposed to *re-creating* a (imaginary) play by *re-constructing* the rhythm and *jo-ha-kyû* which does exist on the page – the reading experience of a transcriptional-type *kokkeibon* aimed at a wider audience.

The work of comparison of a play-script with its corresponding *e-iri nehon* has only just begun by scholars. From the point of view that it stems directly from a play-script, if analysed an *e-iri nehon* should follow the rhythm of a play. Or would it? Although *Yakusha hama no masago* and the Sanba-prefaced *Iroha moji chûshingura* are both published in 5 *maki*, the 5 acts of a *jidaimono*, period play, none of the effects pertaining to the actors or stage of a real performance appear on the pages. The performance rhythm of an *e-iri nehon* would seem to be superficial. Alternatively, would Sanba's fiction adhere better to *jo-ha-kyû* etc. through his use of timing?

### ***Theatre-style outside the curtain on stage***

Upon the background of the two theatre districts, Sakai-chô and Fukiya-chô, *Kejô suigen maku no soto* (Theatre-style outside the curtain) of 1806, as its title suggests, describes the goings on at the Nakamura theatre during a Kabuki performance, focusing on the antics of members of its audience. *Kejô* is perhaps the first true *chûbon-gata kokkeibon* to use the theatre as subject matter, yet it has attracted little scholarly attention since Ebara dismissed it as having no order or connection between its characters, who bumble onto the scene only to disappear again.<sup>81</sup> Similarly in English commentary, *kokkeibon* such as *Kejô* are usually described as just series of unrelated sketches, with neither plot nor story.<sup>82</sup>

In the previous chapter on Transcriptional-type representation, we saw how *Kejô* borrows theatre sounds/rhythms to fit its own story. Rather, in *Kejô* Sanba shapes his story of theatre-goer portraits round/into Kabuki play format. This would logically make it a straightforward example for us to analyse further as a kind of entire Kabuki performance.

The whole day's play programme at the Kabuki theatre, we learn, is guided by the *jo-ha-kyû* pacing principle originating in Noh. "Perceiving the play as a cyclical journey through various acts gives a sense of unity to the diverse elements of the play".<sup>83</sup> Gerstle has shown that *jo-ha-kyû* can be big and small scale, a whole play (even a day's programme), or

---

81. Ebara 1980, 427.

82. Leutner 1985, 94.

83. Gerstle 1986, 36.

each primary unit. Are the series of sketches, as *Kejô* has hitherto been described, in any way cyclical and or climatic?

*Jo-ha-kyû* both governs and is governed by the pace set by the acting and the audience's reception. Translated into fiction terms, *jo-ha-kyû* will concern the woodblock expression forming the fictional characters, and the readers' response. *jo-ha-kyû* is never such a precise measure in performed Kabuki as in Jôruri because the timing is largely in the hands of the actor rather than chanter and samisen. We can therefore also expect some poetic licence from the members of the audience featuring in *Kejô*.

I also showed in the last chapter that a glance through the woodblock version will immediately identify the stage-side calls from the auditorium-based conversation, and that intricate devices were being used here to represent timing and rhythm. Any analysis and translation here will be done primarily through reference to the woodblock.<sup>84</sup>

The preface is dated New Year, 1806; as ascertained in Chapter 2, Sanba had just been obliged to move out of Tarari-rô, his studio at the Yorozuya premises, due to his wife's death, so no mention can be made in the preface here of that allusion to the Okina's call of "Tôtô tarari" from the Sanba-sô dance. A frontispiece follows showing activity as people set out to the theatre in early morning, and including verse by Sanba referring to the Kaomise. Although dated New Year, *Kejô* pretends the background play is the Kaomise, the "Star line-up" performance held in 11th month, and we shall see that Sanba has taken heed of this in the structure of the work of fiction. *Kezairoku* gives specific advice on plot construction for Kaomise plays which we will be referring to: always starting with the Sanba-sô dance, the main play should then concentrate on actors' abilities rather than a coherent plot, leading to an end with samisen music and visual interest.<sup>85</sup> So, Kaomise is generally less about plot and more about actors; here, the audience.

It just so happens that on the main stage, Okina has exited and the prelude is now over. The clappers to mark the opening of the curtain sound, yet we can still hear metallic noises as scenery preparations are being made on the stage. There is still no call of "Ladies and Gentlemen: the actors!" The delayed start can't be helped. Having navigated their way through the thick fog before dawn, we see men and women, old and young, rich and poor, come pushing and shoving through the theatre doors in quite a theatrical fashion themselves.

---

84. Some textual meanings have been clarified by Jinbô's annotation in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei*.

85. Saltzman-Li 1994, 142-3.



The introductory pages thus firstly home in on the main theatre stage, where the Sanba-sô (Okina) dance is over, as is the *jobiraki* (prelude) - in fact symbolically covered by Sanba's preface and the frontispiece. We immediately afterwards venture, however, to outside the theatre where the real main stage of this piece of fiction, the audience, includes a family of Granddad, Grandma and son from the provinces, accompanied by two "guides" fancying they know all about the city of Edo and its theatre. They make various clueless mistakes concerning some actor prints on display - "The one with the squat nose must be Danjûrô" - and waste time ordering too many unusual dishes in a grilled-eel shop. They approach the theatre to be ushered in as the Mitateme (1st act of main play) has already begun, and, they are told, the top actors will soon collect on stage.

They are passed on their way to the 2nd floor by two "Would-be connoisseurs" (*hankatsû*) evaluating current trends, where tea-room maids are discussing actors' attributes in a more down-to-earth fashion. Calls from the entrance break in to advertise the must-see *Shibaraku* (Just a minute!) which will start shortly, and from up on the roof "Butai yarô" summons people to take their places. [Figures 15A and 16A, p. 123]

Two braggarts on the balcony are trying to out-do each other in knowledge of the Kaomise performance. We learn among other things that a Kaomise without *Just a minute!* would be like a stew without the vegetables. We should also expect snow in the 2nd piece, but they'll be tears this time with Kôshirô absent - the actors of the 3 theatres all change round during this season. Just then the artist Utagawa Toyokuni arrives at the theatre, late, is asked where he has been by theatre staff, is surprised the play has started, and passes comment on the unruly state of the audience, before being invited into the greenroom. The braggarts, missing nothing, incidentally find Toyokuni much more of a dandy than the pug-nose Kyôden or old-man Sanba.<sup>86</sup>

Our attention now falls on a Samurai using loud Kyushu dialect to choose Danjûrô souvenirs from the auditorium sweet-seller. The meanings of the crest and concentric squares of "Mimasu" have to be explained to him. The explanation, however, comes from a Kamigata official, Fujisuke, who then uses strange western courtesy to a landlady and her daughter. The latter appears to be getting on rather too well with Fujisuke, and the mother moves her along to the higher circle, despite the theatre caller's announcement of a big actor line-up, followed by the closing curtain. At the circle entrance, bouncers

---

86. A presumably jovial crack regarding Kyôden who always portrayed himself in his work with a small nose, when in reality he had an elegant long one; Sanba is actually only 30 years of age when writing this book, but was known for his grumpy temperament.

perform their own mock Shibaraku speech whilst collecting tickets. Once inside the women meet the elderly Saburoemon, celebrating 15 years since his last theatre trip, who is accompanied by his eligible son. Saburoemon is obviously well connected and asks about the daughter's progress in dancing lessons. The son is uninterested and is invited for a drink by his friend. For "Just a minute" there is wine-cup exchange (but of the wrong type for the mother), and Part I comes to an end.

Part II, and in "Just a minute"<sup>87</sup> the subject of conversation has changed to the old-time theatre anecdotes of Saburoemon. As his spiel goes on, the daughter wonders when the curtain might open, and has the process of pre-curtain clappers described to her by a nearby apprentice-boy. Abandoned by his son, and unimpressed by modern theatre, Saburoemon stretches out for a nap, but in doing so, knocks over a teapot which rains its contents on the heads of those sitting below. Cautioned by theatre staff, Saburoemon rises with a start, spilling more which reaches the head of a drunkard in the pit.

The drunk would rather drink saké than watch the play, and, aggravated by the tea episode, dares the curtain to open and the stage announcer to appear. He answers back at the stage calls accompanying the curtain opening, mimicking the theatre style of language.

[Main stage] Signalling time, with a final clack, the curtain opens. "Oyez, stage announcement!" "Hey, stage announcer, sir! [Figure 16B] Hail, Emperor of announcements! So good to see you, announcer! I didn't mean it when I told you not to bother coming on. And there's the god of curtain-drawers, Nyorai boddhisatva, apparitions of all sorts! Excellent job. I'm counting on you. Hey, I've been tricked. That announcer seems to have 6 or 7 heads. Oh, it must be a stage effect – very clever indeed. What's this? To my eyes those balcony stalls look like they're going round on a revolving stage. Some fangled machinery can be the only explanation for it. Can I really fool myself that's the only explanation? Hiccup. Agh, to hell with you. Outrageous announcement. Announcer, I've outrageously discovered your tricks. You can stop now. I didn't hear a word you were saying."

From the side: [Curtain opening] Group of criers: "Let the play begin!" "Clack, cla' cla' cla' cla' cla' cla' cla' cla' cla' cla'." [Figure 22A, p. 150]

Drunkard: "You curtain-drawers, how well you draw attention to yourselves! You attention-drawers, how well you draw curtains! Curtain-drawing attention. Attention-drawing curtains. Keep up the good work!"

Stage controller sits on half tatami to side of stage; has job of keeping order: "Ladies and gentlemen! Come, silence please!" Even though the new scene has started, he cannot bear the indifferent chatter of the drunkard, so approaches. Stage controller grabs drunkard by the shoulder: "Hey you, be quiet."

Drunk: "Oh yes, I'll be quiet." Seeing the controller has returned to his seat, "What, you think I'm going to be quiet, do you? If the audience has to be quiet, then so should the actors. I'm perfectly happy listening to myself, thank you."

Also in the pit are three wearers of hankies on their heads, who are looking to get up to no good. Having drunk all their saké, they fill a bottle with urine, which is subsequently drunk by a deaf man. His is the last laugh, however, as he can't hear their teasing him.

---

87. The many nuances of "Shibaraku" help us to make a smooth transition from Volume 1 to 2.

A prudent viewer, shocked by the amorous action now on stage, wills on the end of the scene by performing the closing clapper rhythm himself with his hands. [Figure 22B] We learn that on stage the hero is then saved and the villain punished, upon which the lead actor steps out of role to make an announcement: the wish of Sanba, the author of this book, to recommend the reading-power medicine manufactured by, and on sale from, his friend Kyôden.

Back in the pit there is a conversation consisting entirely of theatre-speak, which baffles a nearby Confucian scholar who cannot place the origin of this foreign language. With a pun misunderstanding on similar-sounding Chinese and Kabuki gossip, the clappers sound and the curtain closes. To complicate further there enters onto the scene a National Learning scholar: there ensues a conversation of alternate Chinese worded sentences and Japanese ones.

Also in the pit a philanderer is trying hard to impress the ladies by showing off his theatre knowledge. For detailed information he just so happens recommends them Sanba's *Shibai kinmô zui*. He is then cunningly quizzed by them and makes a slip-up. Flustered, he breaks into a cold sweat. Whereupon, drums mark the approach of the finale, and the actors who will appear are named. Candles are placed along the stage and Hanamichi. The staff is complaining that it'll be 2am by the time they finish. It is obviously the opening day, and actors are still practising in the greenroom; the Kamigata actors haven't even arrived in Edo yet. The audience is getting impatient and arguments are ensuing.

A drunken stutterer, aptly named Domo no Matahei, staggers around causing chaos in the pit. A woman ridicules his way of talking, herself with a nasalized speech impediment. Matahei joins in the *meriyasu* music, "Godairiki" (Five great powers) which is now playing to conclude the performance, but changes the words to a drinking song. [Figure 13B, p. 122] He continues to sing about his own lot in the style of the drunken dance-song from the Noh play, *Shôjô* (The drinker). [A] With this, the volume ends, but, we are told, the sequel will be coming out soon. The low and high drums signaling the end of the performance also bring the book to a close. [C]

We noted that *Kezairoku* suggests samisen music at the end of the Kaomise performance to invigorate the audience and to provide visual interest. On cue, *Kejô* supplies Jôruri and notation within its ending, a skit on the song "Godairiki" (Five great strengths) by

the stutterer; the woodblock expression being very visual and dynamic at this point, enough perhaps to arouse the reader him- or herself to “perform” it.

Through schemed conversation by the braggarts in Part I, we learn all about Kaomise. Similarly, the apprentice-boy in Part II finds himself in his element explaining the clapper signals in detail to the daughter. Also, a translation of the theatre-speak (*senbo*) dialogue is given to us in right-hand side glosses. The philanderer suggests a copy of *Shibai kinmô zui* available in 5 volumes is the answer to everything. Thus the amusing *Kejô* doubles as a theatre guide. In addition, it unwittingly provides the modern reader with insights into Edo period performance. From the actor’s stepping out of role to relay a message from the author, Sanba, we can assume it was common practice for this to be done for comments from the playwright.

In understanding *Kejô* in its entirety, we must remember this is the audience version of the Kaomise. The mother parades her daughter, as is the basic purpose of Kaomise: to sell the actors. Clues are given in the discussion of Kaomise customs by the braggarts early in Part I as to what to expect the audience to simulate. In fact Part I forms the *Ichibanme* (1st piece) on the theatre programme. One essential, we are told, is the inclusion of a *Shibaraku* (Just a minute!) performance.<sup>88</sup> “Shibaraku on next... take your seats!” the callers cry - however, they have to wait “just a minute” for Toyokuni to show in the theatre auditorium on his way to the 3rd floor greenroom. The tardy Toyokuni is the star role in the play “Just a minute!” of this audience’s production. (As illustrator of actors, Toyokuni is no more than a VIP member of the audience, never stepping over the threshold stage curtain, although perhaps patronising upstairs. Perhaps here he is being revered as the *Danjûrô* of the print world at this time).

The interval (*Kyôgen nakaba*) between the 1st and 2nd piece (*Nibanme*) is represented by our closing the 1st volume and picking up the 2nd, however *Shibaraku* is still buzzing in the air during this time. The word “Shibaraku” welcomes us back into the auditorium after our temporary absence as the first word of Part II.

The braggarts’ explanation in Part I helps us to interpret happenings in Part II. For example, we should expect a snow scene on stage in the 2nd piece: we find it snowing tea from the upper circle (or are they hot tears for *Kôshirô*?). “Informative” *jidaimono* (history

---

88. A tradition was founded by Ichikawa *Danjûrô* II to perform “Shibaraku” during the *Mitateme* (the opening curtain of the 1st piece) of the Kaomise. It remained a *Danjûrô* family speciality, often in the role of samurai, Kamakura *Gongorô* Kiyomasa; just as the villain was about to strike, there would be a roar of “Shibaraku” (Just a minute) from the side curtain and the hero would appear to save the day.

play) of the 1st piece of the theatre programme paves the way for a swash-buckling *sewamono* (domestic drama) 2nd piece. It was indeed the convention at this time for the *sewamono* to have some connection with the preceding *jidaimono*. The three hankie-head villains and their saké bottle antics are as villainous as those on stage whom the prudent viewer cannot bear to watch.

*Kezairoku* comments on the assignment of parts in the Kaomise. As a general rule, old-timers should yield to new-comers,<sup>89</sup> as Saburoemon and the mother must give way to their young off-spring. The country bumpkins at the beginning can perhaps be considered a remnant from the *waki kyôgen* performed before the main programme, as their entertaining bumbles do not take place within the theatre complex until they are called in to watch the Mitateme. Their action is of lesser importance to the whole. As *Kezairoku* suggests,<sup>90</sup> an ensemble of maids then appear during this 1st act. Of the list of main role types that can feature on a theatre billboard as defined by *Kezairoku*, the *tachiyaku* (lead role) here should be credited to the braggarts, as, despite their pomposity, they explain the meaning of many things to come. We then see an old man role in the form of Saburoemon, and old and young onnagata in the mother and daughter.

*Kataki yaku* (scoundrel) who often plays comedy, fits perfectly the drunkard who answers back to the stage calls. The *jitsu aku* (true villain) role must fall to the hankie-heads and their wine bottle. The *shinbô tachiyaku* (patient male lead) is perhaps the deaf chap who remains unstirred by the villainy. The *irogoto-shi* is the philanderer, the *iro onnagata*, his target for attention. The assignment of parts thus goes on, and we find that Sanba has even designed the right proportion of male and female roles as prescribed by rules in *Kezairoku* for billboard name display: parts may range from 8 to 12 for male, and onnagata roles half or a little more than half of this number.<sup>91</sup> *Kejô* thus continues to comply with playwriting aesthetics.

We also see characters both consciously and subconsciously using the theatre calls as stimulus to “perform” their own pieces. The clappers sounding and curtain closing upon the pun in the conversation between the Confucian scholar and the theatre-jargon speaker - Yôshi wa hôgen o arawashita (Yangzi wrote *Fangyan*) and Yôshi ga Hôgan ni natta (The adopted son took the Kabuki role of Hôgan) - is like the conclusion of a *sewamono* or a

---

89. Gunji 1972, 518; Saltzman-Li 1994, 151.

90. Ibid., 520; Ibid., 154.

91. Ibid., 522-523; Ibid., 159-160.

punchline in Rakugo being finished off with a bang. The drunkard gives his own announcement during the stage *kôjô*, so we (as well as he) don't actually hear the real one on stage apart from calls and clacks marking its beginning and end. His heated ramblings *are* the stage announcement. His performance then consists of answering back to the theatre calls, for which he is cautioned when he oversteps the mark. The genuine theatre call then marks the end of his debut, and the scene shifts to elsewhere. The braggarts' string of theatre information becomes involved and tedious, but our minds are somehow refreshed when one of them gives an example of a stage call. Sometimes "technical difficulties" delay the curtain, and we are left fidgeting in anticipation along with the daughter when Saburoemon's memoirs have gone on far too long.

Theatre calls thus help restore the situation back to a neutral position again after it has gone off on a tangent. The cyclical journey has been completed like a *jo-ha-kyû* primary unit. Calming theatre calls thus come along like a *fushi* cadence, the *kyû* of the *jo-ha-kyû*. The lack of musical dramaturgy of a Jôruri resolution is compensated for by the melodiousness of the theatre calls' appearance: that is, the serene woodblock opposed to the staccato look of surrounding audience speech of dialect, slurring, stuttering etc.; commented upon in the previous chapter. And where theatre calls do not intervene at the convenient moment to resolve the convoluted, climaxed situation, they are often supplemented by members of the audience performing extra ones by themselves.

By the end of *Kejô*, Sanba's mission has surely been accomplished: every type of audience member has shown his or her face in this Kaomise. Thus *Kejô* cannot be described as merely a series of irrelevant sketches. However, Sanba has achieved more than an audience's Kaomise in book form. Almost half of the theatre sound effects represented, which I believe help to divide up *jo-ha-kyû* primary units, are voiced renditions by members of the audience. Sanba, then, it would seem, is more interested in producing a rounded cyclical piece conforming to *jo-ha-kyû* within his own fiction than keeping strictly to a Kabuki performance framework.

*Kejô* was a convenient example to analyse *jo-ha-kyû* due to its use of sectioning by theatre conventions, but it is not the only work of fiction to abide by it. In other words, *jo-ha-kyû* pacing principle may well be a common form of basic structure in *kokkeibon*, but is not so easy to detect in other examples.

## Elements for re-enactment

More concrete cues forming part of a *jo-ha-kyū* structure – and acting as signs of its existence – are, however, abundant in fiction, and can provide hints for reading. In the “Key” of *Bunraku Jōruri shū* in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, Yuda Yoshio explains that the tear-shaped mark (*kuten*) common throughout Jōruri texts derives from the character for “ku” (verse), and marks *kyoku setsu no kawarime* (music piece changes), breath pauses and other breaks.<sup>92</sup> These appear frequently in the narrative and dialogue sections of *Yakusha sangai kyō*, where we see a distinct change of mood from the unpunctuated “memoria”-type first section.

In the previous chapter mention was made of *Sangai kyō*’s relatively un-dynamic copy-script for passages of dialogue compared with later *kokkeibon*. What the script of *Sangai kyō* does show us, on the other hand, is sensitivity to the placing of Jōruri-style *kuten* punctuation. For example, at the end of the 3rd section which concludes Chikamatsu’s speech, the succession of King Chikamatsu II of Sanjō is announced with,

“Kore yori nidaime, Chikamatsu taiō hajimarisayau to...”

“From hereon let begin the reign of King Chikamatsu – the second!” [Figure 28B, p. 172]

The *kuten*, here given with a comma in the Japanese, marks the place between “2nd generation” and “King Chikamatsu”. In Jōruri, important words are preceded by a pause (*ma*) to enhance the power of the actual declamation.<sup>93</sup> This *kuten* can only represent a breath-mark, as this is where one would be taken in performance at the conclusion of a speech. (In translation, use of a hyphen and exclamation mark might go some of the way to conveying this stop-for-breath style emphasis). The immediately following *Kai* 4 marks a return to equilibrium as we resume a narrative. It starts by reiterating the fact of Sanjō’s succession with different punctuation, indicating that the *kuten* of the above example serves a different role as a stylistic breath-mark.

Satemo Ichikawa Sanjō wa, nidaime Chikamatsu taiō to nari keredomo...

So it was that Ichikawa Sanjō, although becoming King Chikamatsu the second... [Figure 28C]

Research into the differences between punctuation and breath-marks in Edo literature and Jōruri texts is far from conclusive; this work might help shed light on some definitions.

---

92. 句. Yuda 1965, 33.

93. Malm 1990, 232.

We also see frequent use in *Sangai kyô* and throughout Sanba's fiction of techniques for expressing timing in Jôruri such as *hikiji* and *umiji*. *Hikiji* lasts 2 rather than 1 beat, while *umiji* is an elongated vowel for several beats. They are usually used in *ji* (narrative) of Jôruri to create melody, or in a spoken section for rhythm. They are indicated by small, right-hand aligned Kanji for the word "hiku", meaning "pull", and small *katakana* of the vowel sounds. As well, then, as creating his own signs, Sanba makes ample use of existing ones from Jôruri. These all contribute to readers' potential re-enactment of the text. [Figure 28A]

Sanba uses Jôruri devices taken straight from chanting performance. Sanba is bypassing the Kabuki *daichô*-like text in the use of these. This can be understood as similar in notion to Sanba's ability to skip the *hanashibon* stage in the process of creating *yomihon* from *hanashi*, as described earlier in this chapter.

We saw members of the audience in *Kejô* mimicking the stage sound effects. Audience participation equals reader participation when the reader then mimics the member of the audience mimicking the stage. Yet, Sanba has transcribed the oral mimicry in much the same way as he has the sound effects themselves, suggesting that Sanba has intended them all for "voicing" by the reader. [Figure 22B, p. 150]

We have seen that text is a type of image, though not granting so much freedom as that of the picture; an *ukiyo-e* for example can contain an infinite number of stories. In her study of "audible" actor prints, Muto confines her suppositions to that of imagining the voices and music implied by the actor print.<sup>94</sup> I believe there is also room here for consideration of oral reproduction by the viewer/reader of this non-surface-present, memory-based text.

Similarly, Kyôden, writes Miller, uses dialogue mimetically in his frequent use of the *ioriten* "^^" symbol before lines of chanting or poetry: "As in Noh playbooks, the symbols invite the reader to chant the text according to a standard melody. The *sharehon* reader, reconstructing the sound mentally while reading, is tricked into performing this chant upon the stage of his mind".<sup>95</sup> However, as the reader of fiction is given the same clues as a chanter is in a music score, interpretation here too may not necessarily be confined to a mental type. Yet the general modern scholarly attitude towards methods of re-creating represented performance, both memorial and transcriptional, would seem to be timid.

---

94. Muto 2001, 17.

95. Miller 1988, 142.



To return, then, to Edo sources, Uji Kaganojô's *Takenoko shû* of 1678 teaches that the 4 musical styles in a Jôruri play: *shûgen* (auspicious), *yûgen* (elegant), *renbo* (amorous), and (*aishô*) tragic, each of which should be chanted differently, apply to all sections of Jôruri – *ji* (song), *ji iro* (parlando), and *kotoba* (speech) –

*Kotoba* [speech] should be recited as in the usual manner of telling a story and the four musical styles should be followed, but there should be no melody at all.<sup>96</sup>

The verb used here, “monogatari suru” (telling a story), would appear to refer to the general reading experience. Looking reversely into Kaganojô's teaching, it would seem to say that the reading experience should involve one of these “musical” styles (be it without the melody). When we read a piece of Edo fiction, then, should we be aware of the type of section and use the appropriate Jôruri-type expression (minus any melody)?

It would be wrong to suggest the whole text was there for a Jôruri-type rendition. Texts can no sooner change their “performance” root to storytelling, lecture-style, or an oral art we now know nothing of. Young's statement that a book is the negative of an oral art<sup>97</sup> is too clear-cut to explain the amalgamations of representations of oral arts that we have found within one piece of fiction. A specific work might instruct us about an oral art, such as regards *chaban* (party-pieces) in Sanba's *Chaban kyôgen haya gotten* (Quick success in amateur dramatics) of 1821, although there is no allegiance to one specific performance in its construction: in other words, fiction is not a play-script. Fiction had to stand alone, to a certain extent be self-explanatory: we have seen that many pieces were made accessible by Sanba's mundane basic performances.

To woo a wide audience, fiction was in fact created by taking easily identifiable conventions from any performance. Whereas in “Discovering theatrical rhythms”, scene changes in *Yakusha sangai kyô* were found to “imply” a Jôruri cadence, in the *gôkan* of Bunka 14 (1817), *Hade sugata odoriko musubi* (Tieing the knot: the gaudily-dressed dancer), we see “sanjû” cadence and “jô” pitch notation markers actually used within the main text, as Sato notes.<sup>98</sup> Sanba's later *gôkans*' more common use of Jôruri notation does not mean it was not implied before; we should have been able to insert our own. (The minuteness of notation when shown alongside characteristic *gôkan* script squeezed into space around illustrations

---

96. Gunji 1972, 405; trans. Gerstle 1986, 187.

97. Young 2003, 119.

98. Sato 1998, 68.

may be one reason why it was not common practice.) Not a sign that reading methods were changing, but that fiction was becoming increasingly more inclusive.

In fiction, especially performative attributes from different genres of oral arts created a new type of performance on the page. Gerstle has recently argued that physical texts are not simply representations of performance. As physical objects they have become “something entirely distinct and of a different genre. Such objects (texts) exist on their own and may serve various functions, one of which is to stimulate new performances”.<sup>99</sup>

How would this new performance manifest itself? The dynamic signs in a highly transcriptional-type text may allow/encourage the reader to perform/voice it to others, but the appreciator of the whole performance embedded in these “physical” icons can only be the single reader. It was a test of the reader’s ability to what extent he or she could communicate them to an audience (while not requiring specialist knowledge). In a memoria-type text, more or less of these “physical”, yet largely non-present texts would have been identified according to individual fields of expertise. Some parts might be interpreted “wrongly” or glossed over dully, but there might be a second party present who could correct or supplement. A look at the act of reading in progress, depicted in illustrations might give us more clues in this direction.

### **III Reading illustrations**

#### **Reading practices illustrated**

A comprehensive overview of “readers reading” has been given by Nagatomo Chiyoji.<sup>100</sup> His collection of depictions of people reading taken mostly from Edo prints show a common method would be to rest the book on the left knee and balance oneself with hands to either side (as pictured in a print by Moronobu of 1695), or to hold the book in the right hand and place the left on the floor (depicted by Harunobu in 1770). Another, often in the case of multiple readers, appears to be to recline forwards on the floor around the open book. This “relaxed pose”-style portrayal pioneered by Moronobu and the 17th century artists, Kornicki suggests, marks recognition of a new leisure reading enjoyed particularly by women.<sup>101</sup> A well-known but unusual print by Utamaro, “Kyôkun oya no me kagami:

---

99. Gerstle 2003, 358.

100. Nagatomo Chiyoji, “Kinsei no dokusho zu” (Picture of pre-modern reading), paper presented as part of the symposium “Hon yomu sugata no sei/tô: dokusho gazô ni miru dokusho no sugata to kokoro” (Book-reading pictured East and West: the people and minds in illustrations of the act of reading), Keio University 21<sup>st</sup> Century Humanities COE Programme, December 2004.

101. Kornicki 2005, 181.

Rikôsha” (Education as her parents wished: The intellectual) of 1806 has a figure reclining backwards with a book held up in two hands (Here we have the added benefit of knowing from the book label that she is reading the *yomihon*, *Ehon taikôki* by Takeuchi Kakusai, written 1797-1802). Also, the simple fact that, as a rule, mouths are drawn in an open position in illustrations when figures are represented behind books, might help define reading as an oral experience.

This over-view included various periods and various genres; we do not always know what is being read, and we must also bear in mind that they are primarily pieces of aesthetic art. Yet within the fiction of Sanba too we find recurring images. One of the customers at Nishinomiya’s bookshop in an illustration by Toyokuni in *Shikitei Sanba unubore kagami* of 1801 sits on the step of the shop steadying himself with his right hand, while his left holds a *kibyôshi* up close to his face. To the right of the picture Nishinomiya sits inside his premises, cross-legged, pipe in one hand and holding up to read in the other, presumably, Sanba’s manuscript *kibyôshi*. [Figure 29, p. 172] He is found adopting a similar pose in *Oya no kataki uchimata kôyaku* (Father avenged: a plaster on the inside of the thigh, 2-3 *chô*) of 1805, one of the last “*kibyôshi*”. In the *gôkan*, *Itsutsui otoko hayari Utagawa* (The two fashionable men, Utagawa, II) of 1810, a courtesan sits with knees to chin, holding up an open *kusazôshi* in one hand. Another sits nearby, while a maid is by her side. [Figure 30, p. 199]

In Chapter 2 we found fiction and serious literature contrasted well in *Pinto jômae kokoro no aikagi*. This *kibyôshi* of 1804 has relevance again in the same capacity here. The last double page opens up the hearts of Sanba and Nishinomiya, and reveals the friction between Sanba’s writing fiction for Nishinomiya but at the same time dealing in serious books. Sanba sits behind a desk with a serious book in front of him (his elbows upon it demonstrating his weariness at juggling two professions), while Nishinomiya kneels across from him with a *kibyôshi* upon his lap and pipe in hand. [Figure 6, p. 57]

Similarly, in a memorial by Sanba to his *gesaku* elder, Shiba Zenkô, *Shiba Zenkô yume no mudagaki* of 1797, Zenkô is depicted by Toyokuni behind a desk upon which is a book stand holding serious literature, while Buddha and demon kings sit in a circle, each enjoying a volume of Zenkô’s fiction. Books are held in one hand, and the figures sit either cross-legged or in a kneeling position. Free hands follow the lines, scratch heads, or gesture as if complementing the reading process in some way. There also appears to be some conferring between readers. [Figure 32]





Figure 30. *Itsutsui otoko hayari Utagawa*. 1810. Kano Bunko. Vol.2, 4-5chō.



Figure 31. *Ukiyo Yumesuke kontan makura*. 1812. NIJL. 3chō.



Figure 32. *Shiba Zenkō yume no mudagaki*. 1797. Diet Library. 7-8chō.

Also discussed in Chapter 2 is the scene in *Kahô wa ne monogatari* of 1803, where Sanba sits at his desk and talks across to his pupil, Sanshō (in the room behind the name, Tarari-rō). They are discussing a *kibyōshi* which Sanba has, not laid upon the desk, but held in his hand while he gesticulates with his other. [Figure 7]

In *Ukiyo Yumesuke kontan makura* (Floating world-Yumesuke's scheming pillow) of 1812, in a list of sleepyheads is an illustrated example of, "Hon wo ichimai yomu to nemuku naru hito" (The one who always falls asleep over reading a book), who lies resting his head on a wooden pillow, with an open book covering his face. Its dimensions suggest a *hanshibon* (mid-size book), perhaps a *yomihon*. In contrast, a character clearly labelled "Confucianist" in the same *gōkan* (7 chō) is pictured before a book stand, a large volume resting open upon it. The above examples all imply that *gesaku* fiction was not "worthy" to find its place upon a desk or stand to be read. There would seem to be two physical methods of reading in the same way that there were two types of reading matter. [Figure 31]

Most *gesaku* fiction-reading experiences depict *kusazōshi*. It is hard to find a definitive illustration of a *kokkeibon* reader, chiefly because where such a picture would be relevant, i.e. within a *kokkeibon*, visual text is at a minimum. In a frontispiece in *Ukiyodoko* we see three men sitting in the queue; one is reading something out he is holding - perhaps a manuscript written by the would-be writer - while the two either side of him are weary with tedium:

"Can't stop yawning. Agh... Lord have pity on me!"  
"Here it is, this is the best bit. Just you listen to this!"  
"Only if you pay me first." [Figure 26B]

A series of 7 prints, "Fûryû nana Komachi" (Seven moods of Komachi) by Kikuzawa Eizan dated early 19th century, however, includes two depictions of women reading what is most probably *kyōka* poetry. The first is of a girl sitting on the floor with her knees in front of her chin, and her right hand holding a book while her left is used to follow the line.<sup>102</sup> The pointing finger, I suggest, if used also in *kokkeibon*-reading, would measure the jumps in loudness/pitch indicated by vertical soundgraph-like script, and also judging lengths and spaces which determine speed.

Serious literature (*mono no hon*)-reading, at least of Kanbun and the *ōhon* (large book) format, required a formal style on a stand, while *gesaku* fiction, at least *kusazōshi*, and *kyōka* poetry, allowed an informal pose. Recreational reading of this sort would not appear to

---

102. Ashmolean Cat no. 34, 1958.246, "Beauties of the four seasons", August-October 2005.

warrant taking place behind the confines of a desk, thus marking the informality of the situation. This does mean, however, that the hands were not free for extensive gesticulation. Similarly, a book on the lap or floor would keep the head lowered. At no time during fiction-reading, would it seem, that both hands and facial expression were at liberty for a comprehensive re-enactment by the reader.

Images prove too recurrent for them to be just of artistic merit. What are the implications of these apparent reading methods for fiction? Just a brief consideration has immediately determined limitations in physical involvement. Young talks of “bodily performance as a mode of understanding textual literature”,<sup>103</sup> yet has not considered the practicalities of his theory. A further fundamental truth about a Japanese-bound book itself is that it has no strength of its own. Many examples feel more rigid only from modern repair-work. The 2nd print in the “Fûryû nana Komachi” series<sup>104</sup> shows a standing figure, holding in her left hand a book turned completely back on itself, so that we can see more of the words than she can. An aesthetically pleasing design, perhaps, but an impractical way to read. A book needs some sort of support such as a knee, or fingers spread underneath and a guiding hand above. Admittedly, the stiffer board covers found used in some later *hanashibon*-size *yomihon* would suggest a solution to the inconvenient floppiness of a middle-sized volume held up to be read. It is noteworthy, however, that prints rarely show books held between both hands, always leaving one hand to balance or interpret.

In a *kokkeibon*, discusses Young, “the readers’ corporeal involvement in the language of the text becomes the *raison d’être* of the text”.<sup>105</sup> I have argued that in considering the actual book of the *kokkeibon* as physical object, the letters (*ji*) themselves already embody the text. We can see the character-types in the text and hear them when we read out the lines, but we can’t necessarily play them “corporeally”. The careful reader cannot afford to split from the complex flow in order to perform amateur dramatics.

A corporeal performance of *kokkeibon* would only be possible if the text were memorized, down to every vocal quiver in the woodblock, enough to interpret these into fitting physical movements. It would at that point cease to be fiction. Such a talent would be better picking up a *hanashibon* or *e-iri nehon* which provide real Rakugo stories and Kabuki plays for the amateur dramatist.

---

103. Young 2003, 85.

104. Ashmolean Cat no. 30, X4436.

105. Young 2003, 23.



Woodblock text of “Transcriptional-type” exemplified by *kokkeibon* would seem to relate to voice and timing rather than bodily action. Sounds of a performance (real or imaginary) have been encased within the vertical sound-graph script. They can be re-sounded by the reader who uses his or her eye, and hand, to judge the extent of each undulation. This does not rule out the possibility of a participative audience or re-enactment by a second party listening to narration and referring to illustrations, if any. However this scenario might better fit a *kusazôshi* where there is abundant narration and illustration. Young’s suggested reading method, the reality of which ultimately remains unclear, might better suit *kusazôshi* such as *kibyôshi* and *gôkan*, where illustrations give corporeal clues which could be mimicked while the plainer lines of *kana*, were simply pronounced.<sup>106</sup> It is significant, I believe, that the book in the hands of Utamaro’s upward-facing reclining reader, as well as that covering the face of the sleeper in *Ukiyo Yumesuke*, that is, corporeally “inhibited” readers, is *not* a *kusazôshi*.

By thus eliminating what is *not* a *yomihon* (in the literal sense) I hope to have defined one: it is simply a book for reading out loud.

### Sanba’s “unoriginal” *kibyôshi*

If *kusazôshi* were not *yomihon*, literally, books for reading (out loud), what were they? This is one of the questions left over from the “Genre boundaries” section earlier in this chapter, and one that I shall be tackling whilst reviewing Sanba’s contribution in the development of the *kusazôshi* genres. Although *kusazôshi* began in the 17th century as a closely theatre-related form in the shape of *akahon* – an abundance of theatre-pose illustrations sprinkled with a few play-lines – by Sanba’s time it had witnessed much advancement towards the satirical complexity of *kibyôshi*. The *kibyôshi* provided the format that was Sanba’s debut piece.

Bakin wrote in *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* that Sanba unabashedly imitated work by Kyôden in this genre.<sup>107</sup> Since then, Sanba’s *kibyôshi* have constantly been dismissed as inferior rehashes of Kyôden’s and those of others of his generation, and thus little studied. Tanahashi asks no further questions regarding this universal stance, and points the accusing finger at Sanba’s first work, *Tentô ukiyoe no dezukai* (King of heaven and the floating world puppet-manipulators on view) of 1794, as already displaying the tendency to

106. Meiji *gôkan* began to regularly use Kanji with *furigana* in their texts, suggesting the reading experience of *kusazôshi* had become less physically performative.

107. Kimura 1988, 48.

imitate Kyôden's style.<sup>108</sup> It is high time to reconsider Sanba's *kibyôshi* in tandem with the *kibyôshi* from which they are supposed to have relentlessly borrowed. By doing so, I hope to show where Sanba's ingenuity and interest actually lay. Although the recycling of content claim is an undeniable fact, Sanba's *kibyôshi* are from the outset full of theatrical elements on a large scale; in Sanba we shall see words and pictures combine to transmit rhythm and performability, as opposed to the aesthetics and satire of the *kibyôshi* "greats".

*Gesaku* writers were quick to pick up on the Shingaku religious wave escalating during late Tenmei era (1780's). The Shingaku cult was a combination of Shinto, Buddhist and Confucian teaching ideal for instruction of the masses. The basis for the teaching was that Tentô, the King of Heaven, had governance over human souls. This theme was taken up by the veteran author, Hôseidô Kisanji, and the string of related works he began are termed as *Tentô mono*. Kyôden then produced a series of three such *kibyôshi*. Following on from these, Sanba's work is considered in most commentaries to be a rehash of those by his senior, Kyôden, and of no original value. However, if we look back further to preceding work by Kisanji in the *Tentô* lineage, we notice Sanba bypassing Kyôden in many respects.

In Kisanji's *Tentô daifuku chô* (King of heaven's ledger of great fortune) of 1786, the deeds of the human world directly affect heaven, a good act bringing riches, a bad act causing poverty. The Enya Hangan and Moronô incident was a result of an inattention on heaven's part, but is remedied by the act of loyalty shown by the 47 masterless samurai. Their spirits become guardians of each area of Edo, and build storehouses to hold the wealth accumulated by the good deed: hence the title of the famous tale of Chûshingura.

In Kyôden's *Shingaku hayasome gusa* (Shingaku bible) of 1790, human souls, each divided into a good and bad part, are received from the King of heaven, who blows them down to earth in bubbles. Their bubble-heads are written with either the Chinese character for good or bad, and are depicted attached to naked human torsos. A boy of a merchant house of Nihonbashi, Ritarô, is guarded by a good bubble-man, but at the age of 18 is swept away by a bad bubble-man to Yoshiwara. Disinherited, and about to cut all ties with his family, he is apprehended by Dôri Sensei, Teacher of Reason (most likely based upon the Shingaku teacher, Nakamura Dôni<sup>109</sup>), is brought back to his senses, and the good bubble-man returns to his side. The business then thrives under his headship for a long time.

---

108. Tanahashi 1994, 120.

109. Tanahashi 1989 Vol 2, 115.



The following year appeared its sequel, *Ningen isshô mune sanyô* (A human lifetime secretly calculated): Careless-living-Kyôden oneday visits the house of a good bubble, where he is shrunk down in size and is invited to enter the body of his seemingly upright neighbour, No-one of No-place. Inside the body, Kyôden observes that Heart bubble governs, but once No-one falls asleep, Free-will bubble takes control, and in his dream, parts of his body, Eye, Ear, Mouth, Hand and Foot, each upon human shoulders, make their way to Yoshiwara. Kyôden finally helps restore Heart back to the right place. Kitao Masanobu, better known as Kyôden himself, provided his own fantastical and grotesque illustrations.

*Kannin bukuro ojime no zendama* (Good bubble that is the toggle on a bag full of forgiveness) completed the trilogy in 1793. Bad bubbles surround selfish children, debtors and drunks, keeping good away, and cause a man and woman to fall in love and be about to commit double suicide, when they are saved by a good bubble-man. The bad bubble-men are brought before the King of Heaven who turns them into good bubbles. The end scene sees children gathered around Kyôden, listening to his message of “Forgiveness is foremost”. *Hayasome gusa*, we find from the preface to *Kannin bukuro*, was mistaken for a children’s teaching medium, and as such gained great popularity. Kyôden found himself obliged to follow up his over-successful sop to current ideological trends with two further child-orientated volumes; he did this by decreasing storyline and increasing didacticism each time.

Appearing a year later, Sanba’s debut work, *Tentô ukiyo no dezukai* (King of heaven and the floating world puppet-manipulators on view) of 1794 in fact brings this line of *Tentô mono* to an end. The stars around the King of Heaven descend to earth to administer human hearts and fate. Evil stars also find their way down to wreak havoc: Prowler stars steal treasures, Saké stars get a clerk into trouble, Greed star possesses a money-lender to practise bad business. However, Faith, Righteousness and Gratitude manage to guard a group of Confucian samurai. At the pleasure-quarter, Infidelity and Lust stars revel; a patron is the victim of a Lie star-bewitched courtesan. Robbers become increasingly worse under their influence, until the king orders army stars to capture the evil stars, and they are dispelled from the human world.

What mere précis of contents fail to show is how different is the presentation in these similar-themed works. Although we find the idea of the King of Heaven sending down good and bad spirits originates in Kisanji’s *Daifuku chô*, in *Hayasome gusa* – and despite sharing the services of the same illustrator: Kitao Masami - Kyôden would seem to have devised the use of figures with bubble-heads, representing the good and bad parts of a person’s soul

(these seemingly puerile illustrations may have been the cause of initially catching children's interest). These bear the Chinese character for good or bad in their bubble-heads, but are otherwise faceless.

Kisanji's stars sit on clouds and reach down to earth with long poles to nudge the people into action. Sanba, with illustrator Utagawa Toyokuni, reinvents this by having his stars hide behind the characters, gently manipulating their movements by sticks attached to limbs like a Jôruri puppet. For the same effect, Kyôden has bubble-men stand centre-stage actively pushing and pulling their charges into submission. [Figure 33, p. 206]

In Sanba's *Dezukai*, "stars" comprise clothed beings with normal faces, crowned by Chinese characters (admittedly, enclosed in bubbles) displaying each star's attribute, of which there are over a dozen. Facial expressions also portray the essence of the particular bubble. In Kyôden's three works, bubble-men remain independent entities throughout, and begin to dominate the scene, leaving the actual characters of the story in the background. In Sanba, bubble-crowned stars bow in favour of human presence, so that often we only see a crest-like Kanji peeping above the sleeve of the character, whose facial expressions we find imitating the certain emotion. [Figure 34]

The figure shows a scene in the pleasure quarter, where, we are told, it is easy for the evil group of stars to take over, because courtesans are never sincere. A courtesan has been bragging that she has a provincial samurai at her beck and call. She has instructed the servant boy to go to persuade him to part with some money. However, the two patrons are so overcome with saké, lust and meanness that they only have unkind things to say about the courtesan's non-appearance. The servant boy sits in front of them with greed, nodding and agreeing with whatever they say.

The evil group, however, is unable to usurp the Confucian samurai from the hold of the good stars, who appear on the previous page. In their bitterness, Impious star manages to pass the remark that the samurai's slightly sheepish look probably means he hasn't actually read *The Analects*. This is one of the rare occasions in Sanba's *Dezukai* of a piece of speech from a star in human company. It is in the form of a humorous aside, and gives Sanba the opportunity to exhibit from the outset his mocking attitude towards Confucianists which is later found in works such as *Ukiyodoko*.<sup>110</sup>

---

110. Sanba typically makes these (semi-political?) comments through language, predominantly in conversation. Sanba was by no means free from protest, just clever at concealing it.



Figure 33. *Kannin bukuro ojime no zendama*. 1793. (*Santō Kyōden Zenshū*). 6-7chō.



Figure 34. *Tentō ukiyo no dezukai*. 1794. (*Shikitei Sanba shū*). 8-9chō.

Kyôden's good and bad bubble-men, on the other hand, have more of their own lines of speech than do the protagonists, yet remain anonymous. Sanba's array of qualities in his stars, however, are reflected in either the humans' faces when present, or their own. Sanba's bubbles are thus more like stage directions, saying, for example, "Show greed" or "Show compassion". In scenes where characters are depicted being physically (and consequently verbally) manipulated, this might be performed by the reader just by producing reluctant movements and gestures, and perhaps stilted speech. Regarding the role of bubble souls - the *shukô* created by Kyôden but developed by Sanba - those of Sanba would much better aid a reader's own performance of the whole work of fiction.

Kyôden's *Hayasome gusa* has a complex message. The jostling of genie-like good and bad bubble-men illustrates the cause and effect relationship between the workings of good and bad reflected in human action, and the action of good and bad bubbles governed by the human heart. It illustrates the inner torment of Ritarô's mind, concludes *Kibyôshi sôran*.<sup>111</sup> Whereas the narrative tells the story of the characters featuring in the work of fiction, the illustrations focus on the antics of the bubble-men in producing people's actions. Here too there is an inseparable dialectic between pictures and words as identified by Togasaki in other of Kyôden's *kibyôshi*, mentioned in Chapter 3 concerning the role of illustration. Only a particularly competent amateur dramatist would be able to portray all this outwardly while reading/re-enacting this work. That is not to say Kyôden's bubble-men were intangible in their own right, and the visually powerful and spectacular poses happened to inspire choreography of an independent Kabuki masked dance-piece, "Akudama odori" (Bad-bubble dance) in 1811.<sup>112</sup>

It is clear that Kyôden's Shingaku trio were designed for quiet contemplation rather than an overall active reading or re-enactment. The last page of the 3rd, *Kannin bukuro*, portrays Kyôden seated before children, holding up the "bag of forgiveness", and referring to "the moral of the story told on the right", explains how they should keep their own bad bubbles in check. (Although Sanba imitates this pose at the end of *Kyan taiheiki mukô hachimaki* of 1799, he pretends to have been giving a performance of the whole story. [Figure 9, p. 98])

---

111. Tanahashi 1989 Vol. 2, 115.

112. Ibid., 122.



Despite pressures of the fashionable Shingaku-related theme, Kisanji retained the elements of a re-enactable *kibyôshi*, which Sanba picks up on in his own work. A year after Kyôden's didactic *Kannin bukuro*, Sanba appears on the fiction-writing scene immediately with a classic-type *kibyôshi* for performing. Yet he manages to do so by combining the straightforward drama of Kisanji with some gleanings from the complex visual/verbal interplay of Kyôden's to create, in fact, an even simpler method for conveying performable elements. We see that Sanba actually returns to and adds to the performability of the earlier 1780's, down-playing Shingaku didacticism on the subject, and putting the fun back into the theme of *Tentô mono*.

As discussed in Chapter 2 regarding the "protest *tsuizen*" in *Sangai kyô*, Sô no kai accounted for the lateness by 4 years of the *tsuizen* written by Sanba for Zenkô entitled, *Shiba Zenkô yume no mudagaki*, in the following way: disdained by the flood of *kanzen chôaku* moralistic themes and Shingaku trends extending even to *kusazôshi*, Sanba, in defiance, deliberately writes a typical Zenkô-style *kibyôshi*, and, to give Zenkô credit, makes it into a memorial piece for him.<sup>113</sup> In other words it gave Sanba the opportunity to praise the kind of amusing, non-didactic and also non-political *kibyôshi* of earlier years. The start of this I have identified in Sanba's debut work of a bold, true *Tentô mono* – far from a rehash of Kyôden.

The next year, 1795, Jippensha Ikku with his own *gesaku* debut, *Shingaku tokei gusa* (Shingaku timepiece ramblings), as well as Takizawa Bakin and Tôrai Sanna were each to produce their own renditions of the subject, but all followed on from Kyôden-inspired Shingaku didacticism rather than Sanba-resurrected performability.

### Genre of *aohon*

"Kibyôshi" (yellow-cover) is in fact a retrospective genre name given to late-period *aohon* which became increasingly complex and satirical. The problem arose from the fugitive nature of the *aohon* (blue-book) cover, which over time faded to a yellow colour. The distinction between *aohon* and *kibyôshi* during the Edo period is far from clear or universal, as Sonoda has shown: to Sanba all are *aohon*, whereas Kyôden refers to *kibyôshi*.<sup>114</sup>

---

113. Sô 1998, 232.

114. Sonoda 1999, 60-61.

Nakamura Yukihiro in *Gesakuron* was one of the first to comment on the extent of Sanba's immersion in the *kusazôshi* of old,<sup>115</sup> but this has not been appreciated in a positive light by later studies. We need to reconsider what Sanba appreciated in them. Sanba's *Kusazôshi kojitsuke nendaiki* of 1802 is a chronological story of *kusazôshi*. It is written and illustrated by Sanba in the style of each stage in *kusazôshi*, whilst telling the well-known story of Princess Pothead, a daughter who is cursed to wear a pot on her head, but who later finds good fortune. Sanba provides his own comments on developments in the genre alongside the pseudo-*kusazôshi* pages. On the transition from *akahon* to *aohon* brought about by writers such as Kisanji and Harumachi, and the Kitao school artists, Sanba notes that *share* (wit) began to appear in the written insertions. The following era saw the entrance of author, Shiba Zenkô: "At last", writes Sanba, "*kusazôshi* became a mode for wit". The next break came with actor likenesses and the Katsukawa school, and writer Manzôtei who managed to create laughs. However, after this, "The *shukô* of *aohon* got incredibly conceited". In the penultimate section he writes, "*Kusazôshi* gradually fell into didacticism", before arriving at contemporary (1802) *kusazôshi* about which he makes no comment. Sanba noticeably refrains from mentioning Kyôden in his capacity of writer in any section.

A frequently appearing ode in Sanba's *kibyôshi* and *gôkan*, ranging from *Naburu mo yomi to utajizukushi* (Book of poetic words even for "bigamy") of 1805 to *Na wo Agemaki futari Sukeroku* (One named Agemaki and two Sukeroku) of 1813, is the New Year *kyôka*:

*Akahon no owari to haru no hajimari wa itsumo aikawarazu medetashi medetashi*  
The last of the *akahon* and the beginning of spring; as auspicious (joyous) as ever

The *akahon* (red-book) genre, with its rather too many illustrations and little text for an interesting performance - as perhaps perceived by the master of the writing-brush, Sanba - made way for the *aohon* during the mid 18th century. *Akahon*, like a Kabuki-scene "map", had been too picture-based for anything more than emulating short lines and poses - although very much performance literature. (It was thanks to the *akahon* that the *kusazôshi* genre ever materialized out of theatre-realm *ehon banzuke*.) The subsequent *aohon*, however, would seem to have struck a manageable balance between illustration, speech and narration, which echoes the relationship between a theatre scene, actors' lines (*kotoba*), and chanted action (*ji*) of Jôruri or stage directions in a Kabuki play.

---

115. Nakamura 1982, 135.

Sanba wrote in the *kibyôshi*, *Naburu mo yomi to utajizukushi* - a work defying the present trend and rehashing the old theme of body swapping - of Bunka 2 (1805) when the *kusazôshi* format was on the brink of further changes, "I ask all of you with the Edo spirit: let's forget the stiffness of the vendetta and return to the *aohon* that Kisanji and Harumachi gave us!" From Sanba's refrain-like *kyôka*, his subjective commentary in *Kojitsuke nendaiki* and this last appeal we can pinpoint early *aohon* as Sanba's chosen era. Sanba bemoans the demise of the *aohon* genre; early *aohon* had had a straightforwardly re-enactable performance-based format.

Regarding the hazy line between *aohon* and *kibyôshi*, Sonoda speculates whether Kyôden had sensed a development large enough to constitute a new genre.<sup>116</sup> The term *kibyôshi* was, after all, a more appropriate name for the cover colour that *aohon* had faded to. The use of differing terms reflects contrasting ends: Kyôden was eager for *kusazôshi* to evolve further, while Sanba wanted a return to the past.

Fundamental to *kusazôshi* was that picture and letter shared the burden of relating the narrative text. Due to the lack of continuum in the written text, May rules out the possibility of reading aloud any *kibyôshi* to a second party.<sup>117</sup> However, this is where, traditionally, the role of illustration steps in: to instigate a multi-linear performance. Readers reading *kibyôshi* and *gôkan* depicted in Sanba are seen to be the ones gesticulating the most.

Young does not consider *kusazôshi* in the equation when determining performative reading methods for *gesaku* fiction, but perhaps his theories of bodily involvement might be of more significance regarding *kusazôshi* than his targetted *kokkeibon*. Despite the gradual shifting format, *akahon* – *aohon* - *kibyôshi*, these all still belong to the *kusazôshi* genre as opposed to the *yomihon*. Reading methods would not easily change. I contend that the general reader still expected the similar-formatted publication to provide on its pages a performance to be actively re-created.

### **The fall of *kibyôshi***

Nakamura concludes that within *gesaku*, the *kibyôshi* genre best exemplifies the plays-crypt *shukô* structure applied to fiction.<sup>118</sup> It is strange, then, that at its zenith during the Tenmei/early Kansei period (1780s-90s), the *kibyôshi* increasingly did not lend itself to play-style re-enactment. Kern intriguingly calls *kibyôshi* a kind of private "theater on a *tatami*" (a

116. Sonoda 1999, 61-62.

117. May 2005, 43.

118. Nakamura 1982, 142-178.

twist

pen on Henry James' "theater in an armchair"),<sup>119</sup> but alas does not suggest how this *tatami* theatre might be carried out, how the pictures might be "performed" in combination with the verbal text. The multi-textual *kibyôshi* by Kyôden he refers to would seem incongruous with this image. And although the satirical *kibyôshi* of Sanba's elders marked the height of sophistication in the history of *gesaku* fiction, it did not necessarily mirror reading tastes of the general populace.

The waning of *kibyôshi* has conventionally been attributed to the censoring effects of the Kansei Reforms. In reaction to Matsudaira Sadanobu's grip on the reins of power, a series of political *kibyôshi* appeared from Tenmei 8 (1788), resulting in a writing ban imposed upon Kisanji. Kyôden and Harumachi continued to write in this vein until procedures to curb them began officially in Kansei 2 (1790) with several edicts.

Everyday satire and ironic allusion formed the basis of all Tenmei (1880s) *kibyôshi*; this was the root of the wit Sanba talks about in *Kojitsuke nendaiki*. In discussing Kyôden, however, Togasaki has shown that by the Kansei era (1790s) pictures were of equal weighting to language in *kibyôshi*, but had an independent role: "The verbal text expresses an officially sanctioned viewpoint, while the picture states the author's anti-official conviction".<sup>120</sup> Although Togasaki and Kern have investigated Kyôden's socio-politics in this way in great depth, neither of them suggest how these were received by the average reader, or incorporated into the reading experience. Therefore Kern is unable to solve the task that he poses as a chapter subheading, of "How to read a pictorial comic fiction". Kyôden's pictorial and verbal texts have been shown too interwoven for his work to be pure representations of performance, even in his Tenmei era work such as *Gozonji no shibaimono* (Our familiar merchandise; 1782) with which he broke away from the previous parodic structure.<sup>121</sup> Togasaki writes, "For Kyôden the subtle interactions between picture and letter became a powerful tool for communication."<sup>122</sup> This, however, could only have been a silent transmission.

Sanba's *kibyôshi*, on the other hand, are deemed unremarkable precisely because he attempted to create text free from non-performative (aesthetic and symbolically-laden) illustration. It is significant that whilst writing *kibyôshi* Sanba was dabbling in the appendix-type (i.e. purely verbal text) *gekisho* theatre-book format. Yet Sanba's are considered poor

---

119. Kern 1997, 466.

120. Togasaki 1995, 12.

121. Ibid., 138.

122. Ibid., 126.



emulations of those of the master of visual/verbal interaction: Kyôden. It was in fact Kyôden who was responsible for developing the genre away from its stage-like representation, for trying to bring *kibyôshi* into the realm of silent appreciation. It is this sophistication on Kyôden's part which was particularly modern (alien) in concept to the performable genre and which, I consider, saw its downfall.

Cutting political satire existed in the realm of the dialectic in order to remain semi-hidden. In dangerous times this was transposed for didacticism. Kyôden's *Shingaku hayasome gusa* can be seen timely written as a partial sop to the Reforms' pedagogical concerns. Although *Shingaku* provided a haven from regime satire as censorship heated, Kyôden's work remained void of performability, despite the fact it would not have been particularly damaging. After *Shingaku hayasome gusa*'s surprise hit among the young, rather than making the latter two more appealing to children by making them more accessible to perform, Kyôden in fact chose to cut down plot and add more didacticism.

Sanba sensed the opportunity to compensate for elements lacking in the turn *kibyôshi* had taken – a return to performability. One step towards this was Sanba's bypassing *Shingaku* in finalizing the string of *Tentô mono* discussed above. We later see another backlash with an anti-*Shingaku* protest in Sanba's *Shiba Zenkô yume no mudagaki* of Kansei 9 (1797): mentioned in the section, "Reading practices", *Shingaku* heroes – Buddha, King of heaven - are depicted enjoying Zenkô's non-*Shingaku kibyôshi*. [Figure 32, p. 206]

The key to performability and non-performability would appear to lie in the nature of illustration. *Kibyôshi* of late Anei period (circa 1779), Takahashi has shown, based their plots on actual plays but purposefully used *nigao-e* (likenesses) of actors who did not actually perform those parts. The next years, the start of Tenmei (1780-1), saw *kibyôshi* combining the plots of various plays and choosing fitting actors for the roles,<sup>123</sup> but no reasons for this are suggested. Too well ensconced, perhaps, in what was happening on the real stage, a novel performance had become desirable. Plus, this was "maku no soto" (outside the curtain), unlike *ehon banzuke* (illustrated play summaries) to which *kibyôshi* are related format-wise from the *akahon* era. *Ehon banzuke* retained the insular "maku no uchi" (inner curtain) jurisdiction.

These *kibyôshi* tie directly to *nigao-e gôkan* which appeared almost 2 decades later. What of the interim period? - We find *nigao-e* still in abundance. During the zenith of

---

123. Takahashi 2004, 253-5.

*kibyôshi*, early Kansei (1789-), we see deliberately partial *nigao-e* used meaningfully in terms of political satire.<sup>124</sup> For example, Matsumoto Kôshirô's face becomes a stealthy by-word for Matsudaira Sadanobu. The recurring features of Kôshirô in "heyday" *kibyôshi* are not a sign for us to put on our best Kôshirô impersonations. With *gôkan* we see a return to the former (early *kibyôshi*) straight distinguishing of role-type function of *nigao-e*, all be it now via the vendetta theme. Supernatural *nigao-e* were meanwhile being developed in *shini-e* (death) prints and, in parallel, in the *tsuizen* (memorial) *kusazôshi*. Sanba's unorthodox *tsuizen* (*Yakusha sangai kyô*) suggests he preferred a different type of *tsuizen* as documented in Chapter 2 (you can perform Danjûrô VI's meeting with Chikamatsu as indicated earlier in this chapter).

Takahashi explains the wide use of *nigao-e* in early *kibyôshi* as detracting from plot and *ugachi*, "exposure".<sup>125</sup> Yet, intricate plot and *ugachi* via illustration do not lend themselves to amateur reconstruction (though subtle *ugachi* inherent in *gesaku* can add intrigue to performance via written text, a point confirmed by the wide popularity of Kyôden's *sharehon*), and Takahashi has overlooked these works' primary function – re-enactment.

We see the situation mirrored in *sharehon*. Araki writes, "Typically, the sharebon has no plot to speak of... Japanese townspeople were accustomed to fantastically labyrinthine stories presented on the stages of the popular theater and may have welcomed the respite provided by the simply structured sharebon".<sup>126</sup> With their simplicity *sharehon* possesses all that makes a dramatical-style text easy to perform at home. It is also the *sharehon* of this era that lose their performable characteristics: *Nishiki no ura* (The Other side of the brocade)<sup>127</sup> of Kansei 3 (1791) by Kyôden possesses a darker, melancholy side.

I have called this gap between Kansei *kibyôshi* and the development towards *gôkan* the non-performative years in *kusazôshi* history. The start of the Matsudaira regime and the subsequent Kansei Reforms are characteristically blamed for the quick changes in *kusazôshi*, but what of its readership? Undoubtedly *kibyôshi* increasingly demanded different reading methods to cope with political satire disguised in complex text-illustration interaction, followed by the swap to didacticism. However, it is possible the general reader did not find the proposed reading methods, i.e. that of silent reflection, suitable for their needs.

---

124. Ibid., 256.

125. Ibid.

126. Araki 1969, 38.

127. Trans. Kornicki 1977, 167-188.

Eradication of poignant satire may have been an official deed, but the restoration of performability had little to do with Kansei Reforms. Sanba, on the other hand, whilst being accused of lacking Kyôden's genius, was in fact maintaining (and developing further) the performative element in fiction for the benefit of the average consumer.

Although satirical *kibyôshi* marks the heyday of *kibyôshi*, we must remember it is not typical within the wider genre of *kusazôshi*. Nor is it at the height of Edo culture in general. Explained in the Introduction and using the descriptive terms coined by Nakano, the Kindai-*shugi* (Modern age-ism)'s "camel with two humps"-shape was drawn up to describe the rise and fall and rise again through early-, mid- and late-Edo periods, although in reality it peaked in a "Mt. Fuji" shape during the mid-Edo period. The most Edo-like period was, Nakano believes, in fact, the middle period. So, although Sanba is one of the authors commonly singled out as a representative of late-Edo "Zen-kindai" (prior to modern age) townspeople's culture, it was the mid-Edo period that Sanba himself reveres: namely, the Anei-early Tenmei era (c. 1772-86) performative trend.

### Turn to *gôkan*

In the preface of *Oya no kataki uchimata kôyaku* (Avenging a parent: plaster on the inside thigh) of 1805 Sanba accuses the fashionable vendetta theme of robbing *kibyôshi* of its humour. He likens the publisher, Nishinomiya to an irritating plaster on the thigh (*uchimata kôyaku*) because of the relentless nagging for vendetta stories. Sanba finds he must succumb. Yet he manages to do so by producing an amusing vendetta upon the lines of a *Tentô mono*, the theme with which he had become an author.

Sanba helped to hurry in the *gôkan* genre (and even dubiously credited himself with inventing it) with his continued allegiance to performability, even though he was not disposed to the current taste in story-lines. Tales of vengeance gradually took over in the transition from *kibyôshi* to *gôkan* format around 1806. The vendetta happened to lend itself to a longer, denser, but straightforward format. Thus the allusion-packed, dark-undersided visual/verbal text necessarily made way for a more extended, performance-friendly, format for all: the *gôkan*.

Particularly from around 1808, *gôkan* in general began to rely heavily on the Kabuki stage in general for plot material, following a ruling against the depiction of brutal scenes in vendetta-themed *gôkan*, for which the publisher, Tsutaya Jûsaborô was cautioned, writes

Bakin.<sup>128</sup> Sanba's frequent compositional ploy from this date, Honda explains, was to take a popular Kabuki play just staged, select a complementary Joruri script, and apply a "*gôkan* - style arrangement". Honda has shown that many of Sanba's "Kabuki *gôkan*" appeared within a year or two after a performance in Edo of the related play.<sup>129</sup>

Narrative sections of these *gôkan* began to comprise large amounts of speech; these were accompanied by illustrations containing likenesses (*nigao-e*) of contemporary actors. Thus the *gôkan* page increasingly resembled a captured Kabuki scene, while the surrounding written text transcribed the dialogue and described the movement therein.

How then did *gôkan* differ from a play-script? Ryûtei Tanehiko, a prolific writer of *gôkan* working during Sanba's later career, raises this issue in a letter to his pupil of 1829. In the letter he admits to writing *gôkan* dialogue in the 5-7-5 syllable meter of Jôruri chanting texts in the *gôkan* series, *Shôhon jitate* that he began in 1815:

[O]utwardly it appeared that I was merely writing actors' lines. You might think it best to proceed as if writing a real play, and to have the characters of the story speak like real actors in a performance, but I assure you, this will not succeed... This principle is my great secret.<sup>130</sup>

Unlike Kabuki play-scripts, Jôruri chanting texts were widely available for amateur chanters. However, it would seem that Sanba knew of Tanehiko's great secret, as he himself began writing *gôkan* dialogue in the 5-7-5 meter as early as 1808 – before Tanehiko had even started his career in *gôkan* - acknowledging in the preface of *Uwabami O-chô uwanari sôshi* (Tale of snake-like O-chô, the second wife) of that year, that "This book has been written simply in Jôruri-like phrases to make it easier to read for maids and children". He gives a similar explanation in *Domo no Matahei meiga no sukedachi* (The stutterer Matahei, master painting assistant), also of 1808, although neither of these works, as Sato remarks, contain actual language or passages taken from any Jôruri puppet play, despite their borrowing content from theatre themes.<sup>131</sup>

It would appear, then, that the key to writing a successful *gôkan* was not to emulate the short exchanges of Kabuki play speech, but to follow the 5-7-5 meter of a Jôruri chanting text. Thus, although unlike a real Kabuki performance text in one sense, the 5-7-5 meter could well have made it easier for the amateur to perform by him or herself.

---

128. *Kyokutei ikô*. Hayakawa, 1911.

129. Honda 1973, 386-7.

130. Sato Satoru 1997, 768-9; Trans. Markus 1992, 77.

131. Sato Yukiko 1998, 65; 73.

Incidentally, it would seem to be Sanba's reliance on a Jôruri-like style (although not necessarily on Jôruri language) in his attempt at the *yomihon* genre, namely *Akogi monogatari* of 1809, which gives Bakin the most offence and which he severely criticises in "Heiben", a several-page manuscript given over to its condemnation.<sup>132</sup> Bakin himself spurns the 5-7-5 technique until later when he finds it secures him the success of works enjoyed by a wide audience such as his famous *yomihon*, *Nansô Satomi hakkenden* (Tale of eight dogs of Satomi; 9 parts written from 1814-42).

Sanba's claim that his *gôkan* are easy for women and children to read (used as a set phrase to mean people of varying abilities), however, does not always refer to the use of 5-7-5 meter, as found in *Kataki uchi Yadoroku no hajimari* (Vengeance and the origins of Yadoroku) of 1808, which appears to stump Sato. This *gôkan*, on the other hand, Sato notes, makes use of colloquial language and verb endings.<sup>133</sup> Sanba states in his preface that it was inspired by nostalgia for the fairy stories his father used to tell him when he was a child. One of these was "Kondôdon no meiken" (Kondôdon's famous dog); the dog, Shishimaru plays a central role in the *gôkan*. This *gôkan* has simplicity without the aid of Jôruri meter. Thus, here "easy to read" is synonymous with "easy to perform".

What exactly was a *gôkan*-style arrangement of theatrical texts? Content-wise, *gôkan* could learn from an era of hits and misses on the stage. A stock form in *gôkan*, Honda identifies as the loss of imperial treasure and the resulting suffering out of loyalty, a love triangle, subsequent conquering of the villain and an auspicious ending,<sup>134</sup> in other words, a string of popular Kabuki themes. As important as content, however, is Sato's observation concerning meter and language. In some cases 5-7-5 meter was added to dramatise an, as yet, undramatic piece. For others it entailed ridding a piece of its familiar meter and converting language to colloquial forms in expressive ways.

(*Shikitei zôho*) *Hakone reigen izari no adauchi* of 1807 steals the full title of a Jôruri/Kabuki play. Honda has compared the content of the two texts to find Sanba has made fundamental initial changes, although development of the plot thereafter remains fairly faithful. Firstly, Sanba swaps the brothers' vendetta (based on an actual event which occurred in Hakone in 1590) for a father-son one. Secondly, the reason for the vendetta, a chance

---

132. *Kyokutei ikô*, 287.

133. Sato 1998, 66-67.

134. Honda 1973, 388.

killing in a dispute, becomes that of a love rivalry. Honda explains the differences as Sanba's considerations for appealing to a young readership.<sup>135</sup>

Sato has since remarked that this *gôkan* has, in fact, no parts particularly written in Jôruri meter.<sup>136</sup> Upon a closer look, the narrative text, although containing some speech, is unexpressive, and the copy-script (by a named scribe, Kamei-bô), particularly uniform. It would seem that in the case of *Hakone reigen* none of these tactics was successful, as Sanba mentions the unpopularity of this work in his diary.<sup>137</sup> Despite the sub-title of "Shikitei zôho" (Shikitei [Sanba]-supplemented), Sanba seems to have removed more than he gave back.

A Kabuki *gôkan* particularly quick off the mark- appearing just 9 months after performances in Edo of *Kinmon gozan no kiri* - was *Mukashi gatari kama ga fuchi* of New Year, 1811. The Kabuki play starred Nakamura Utaemon III from Osaka in a production beginning 3rd day, 3rd month at the Nakamura-za, and Matsumoto Kôshirô V at Ichimura-za from 6th day of the 3rd month, 1810.<sup>138</sup> In the play, *Kinmon gozan no kiri* (The golden gate and the paulownia crest; by Namiki Gohei, 1778), Sô Sokei, a retainer of the Ming Emperor conspires to dominate Japan, however, he is slain by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, traditionally known in plays as Hisayoshi. The thief, Ishikawa Goemon, whose adopted father was the rebel, Mitsuhide who was killed by Hisayoshi, on discovering that his real father, Sô Sôkei, was also his victim, vows to take revenge. Whereupon, in the last scene, he encounters Hisayoshi, disguised as a pilgrim, carving a poem on a pillar at Nanzen temple in Kyoto: "Even if an end comes to Ishikawa and the sand on the beach, there will never be an end to thieves in the world". Goemon strikes but Hisayoshi defends himself with his pilgrim's water ladle; with this pose the curtain closes.

Ishikawa Goemon was an actual notorious thief who was thrown into boiling oil in 1594, composing the poem, it is said, upon his execution. In the Jôruri, *Kama ga fuchi futatsu tomoe* (The cauldron depths: double tear-shaped crest; by Namiki Sôsuke, 1737) Goemon steals money from a hunter by disguising himself as an old woman. He then marries a courtesan with the money. He breaks into the house of his former wife to find the husband is the hunter he extorted, but is in fact his half-brother. He departs taking his own son, Gorôichi with him. Gorôichi then kills the courtesan after she treats him harshly - but this was only to

---

135. Honda 1973, 129-130.

136. Sato 1998, 75.

137. *Shikitei zakki*, 45.

138. *Kabuki nenpyô* 5.

prevent him following his father's criminal ways. Pursued by the courtesan's father, Goemon and his son are eventually sentenced to death in a cauldron on the banks of the river at Nanajô in Kyoto.

In the preface of the *gôkan*, *Mukashi gatari kama ga fuchi*, Sanba describes Kabuki, *Kinmon* as "updating" Jôruri, *Kama*; Sanba then recombines them, and adds further traditional themes by recasting Goemon as the son of Ise Saburô, Yoshitsune's loyal follower. Dressed as an old woman, he extorts money from the hunter, inadvertently creeps into the house of his former wife and his half-brother, and leaves with his son in his care. He also takes into his charge the daughter of Yoshitsune. The plan to avenge his father's death upon Yoritomo goes wrong when he mistakenly stabs his adopted daughter and his own wife. Father and son journey to Kannonzan in Yamaga. There he shows his intentions by slashing a coat belonging to Yoritomo. His son, Gorôichi entrusts the vengeance plan to Yoshitsune's army, and Goemon commits suicide with his sword whilst uttering the poem, and tumbling from the temple gate. Sanba ends the text with "The cauldron at Nanajô story is too well-known, so here is a more auspicious end for the loyal Goemon".

The focussing on traditional story elements, necessary in the "gôkan-ization" process, is as Honda describes. The Yoshitsune legend is superimposed to provide themes of loyalty; also a relationship triangle develops, we hear that vengeance shall be had, and an auspicious ending is reached. The boiling cauldron scene, assured by the title of the *gôkan*, never actually has occasion to transpire.

The Kabuki and Jôruri plays in this case do not simply feature in combination within a "gôkan arrangement", as Honda describes what he also terms as, "Kabuki gôkan". As we can see, the story-line very much follows that of the Jôruri. The language is a simple narrative style, however, with no meter. On the other hand, we find evidence of the Kabuki in isolated frames. The Nanzen Temple scene of *Kinmon* and the famous verse appear as a frontispiece, with Kunisada's portrait of Kôshrô as Ishikawa Goemon (the hooked nose distinguishing him from Utaemon). He features throughout, in play-like poses surrounded by befitting speech. In other words, even though the story is not the same, we have the clues from that performance to create another one. The Kabuki's role is to supply the *gôkan* with performability.

Sanba's *gôkan* weaves a story around identifiable parts from the Kabuki, *Kinmon*, but not in order to recreate that play. It is as if his source material had been ideas for lines and settings noted during the performance of the previous year, rather than the permanent

reminder of the play, the *e-iri nehon*. This type of specific, fragmentary memoria fuelled the craving for *ô museki* (Kabuki speech excerpts) and *nukihon* (Jôruri extracts)<sup>139</sup> – above *e-iri nehon* - in Edo.

This helps to explain the failure of *Hakone reigen izari no adauchi*: having used just one (be it altered) play-script, and rid it of meter, there were not enough recognizable performance-related elements to draw on. He could only have used as a source a *maruhon* of the Jôruri play unperformed in Edo. Furthermore, time-wise his *gôkan* beat the Kabuki version on the Edo stage by a year. The memory bank for re-enactment tips was therefore a limited one. (The wiser in timeliness, in this case, was the *e-iri nehon*, *Ehon Hakone no hatsuhana*). Despite reliance upon a recognizable play-title to initially woo the theatre-fan/reader soon after the stage production, the successful Kabuki *gôkan* in fact provided further hidden themes and unexpected changes inside its cover, and these were all in ever new combinations. Not surprisingly, Kabuki itself later began to borrow from *gôkan*.

There would appear to be two ways of handling material for use in a *gôkan*: that which is not already in a performance form needs it adding, while in order to make fiction from performance, different types of new, challenging performable elements replace the old ones. All choices are made to aid the general reader towards performing the text in an active fashion. In other words, we see a further example of fiction either creating performance, or metamorphosing performance into another form.

---

139. Several *ô museki* can be found in Sanba's former collection; Nishinomiya Shinroku was a leading publisher of *nukihon*.



## Chapter 6 : General conclusion

In medieval English culture, “books are themselves memorial cues and aids”.<sup>1</sup> How very true this has also proved regarding Shikitei Sanba and the Edo woodblock printed book in telling us about both himself and his work.

Firstly this was exemplified in a bibliographical sense in Chapter 2 by the existence of two colophons in different copies of *Shibai kinmô zui*, a Kabuki encyclopaedia by Sanba of 1803, which showed that the printing rights changed hands. Unlike those of the writer, publishers’ copyright laws were firmly in place. The right-hand side of the block was identical as far as the publishers’ names. Gaps in the frame of the later imprint suggested the wood has been gouged out and another block inserted and re-carved. It was also re-dated as 1806. A comparison of these colophons indirectly indicated that Sanba himself was the original publisher of his own work. We know that Sanba left the bookshop Yorozyu early on in his career and thereafter styled himself Nishinomiya, who, according to the later colophon, had passed the blocks onto another shop, Kazusaya. So the Yorozyu of the original publication must refer to Sanba himself. *Shibai kinmô zui* appeared at the end of a string of theatre-related works which included *Yakusha gakuya tsû* (Actors’ greenroom connoisseurs; 1799), and *Yakusha sangai kyô* (Actors’ third-floor amusements; 1801). These books additionally told us about his influential position in the *kyôka* poetry and Kabuki theatre circles at this time.

Secondly, regarding the cues and aids found within work written by Sanba, this thesis has shown Edo period popular commercial fiction to be preceded and succeeded by performance. Fiction itself is a metamorphosed performance in the physical object of the book. Sanba was perhaps particularly fascinated by performance because he was inept at it himself. He found ways in which to participate in performance without use of his oral skills, but which encourage us to use ours upon picking up a volume of his fiction.

A past performance of some sort was often immortalised in the preface, and a new latent performance, created round an amalgamation of performance conventions, was contained in the main text. One common means of representing performance in fiction identified in Chapter 3 was the use of what I have called *memoria*, otherwise termed, we find, as *shukô* or even plagiarism. In *memoria*-type texts we are given hints in various

---

1. Carruthers 1990, 16.

degrees taken from existing, non-present texts. Lack of punctuation gave the reader the opportunity to recall as many of these as possible. A highly punctuated text, in contrast, that I have named transcriptional-type, provided all the clues on the page for creating performance.

Within the flow of a work of fiction, illustration can only represent performance in that it provides clues as to type of character (or specific actor in the case of *nigao-e* likenesses) to imitate, and poses to mimic. On the other hand, a picture which stands on its own, such as an actor print, or an illustration where a written text plays only a subsidiary role as to give a performance cue, can embody a whole performance. On a straightforward level, pictorial fiction provided a play scene on the page. Yet by the Kansei period, the 1790's, the role of illustration in the *kibyôshi* of Sanba's elders had become so intricate that Sanba realised at least one way to revert to performable texts was to dispense with it altogether. It is noteworthy that whilst writing *kibyôshi* during his early career Sanba gained experience dabbling in the appendix-type (i.e. purely verbal text) *gekisho* theatre-book format.

The previously overlooked appendix to the *gekisho*, *Yakusha sangai kyô* of 1801 forms the bases, side by side, of two performance-representational techniques, memoria and transcriptional, the latter of which Sanba later developed. (In 19th century, memoria-type decreased as readership became too dispersed for any collective memoria-based text/performance to function). We see the prototypes for several verbal experiments in the appendix of *Sangai kyô* (and *Yakusha gakuya tsû* before it) because it had very few limitations genre-wise (not belonging as such to a recognised genre of fiction), other than that illustrations were not permitted. This had the effect that he began to grapple with words to describe all: Sanba's eventual selling ploy. This abolition of illustration we find later carried out outright in his *kokkeibon* and in sections of his *gôkan*.

Sanba desired to glaze over genre boundaries and create his favourite transcriptional-type texts throughout. Obscuring of *kokkeibon* and *gôkan* genre differences, however, was taken beyond all limits by Meiji period anthologies such as *Teikoku bunko* with their *shôsetsu* (modern novel)-like formatting. This was connected to the super-imposing of Western-style silent reading practices to Edo fiction, which are yet to be fully annihilated.

My starting point for identifying a certain way of performing with a particular style of script was Jôruri where the script is as round as the sounds emitted by the chanter. I then matched various writing styles with genres of performance, used particularly in rendering different character types. In other words, woodblock-carved script can contain much more

than just semantic meaning. As a result, the onomatopoeic deluge on the opening page of Sanba's most famous comic work, *Ukiyoburo* (Bathhouse of the floating world), cries out for a rendition (although the bland modern typed version has little of the same effect).

As established in Chapter 4, reading clues in written text do not begin with Sanba; we see sporadic use of transcriptional-type signs in *sharehon* such as Manzôtei's *Inaka shibai* (Country plays) of 1787. It would seem, however, that Sanba was the one individual to become conscious of the full connotations of expressive script, and to make use of it unremittingly, particularly in a series of *kokkeibon* from 1806-9 which suggest his own copy-hand. Kyôden, on the other hand, continued ultimately to strive to be aesthetically pleasing. His written text tends to be uniform from his early *kibyôshi* and *sharehon* onwards, with the result that it gives away fewer clues as to ways of reading.

It is significant that Sanba was participating in theatre activities during the period of production of the treatise on playwriting, *Kezairoku*, of 1801, and that he appears to take heed of, and apply, many of its rules to his own fiction. Furthermore, it has been shown that Sanba in his fiction aimed to follow the structural pattern of not only plays, but the whole theatre experience. This cannot be said for the "bare" scripts which constitute the genres of *hanashibon* and *e-iri nehon*. In *kokkeibon* such as *Kejô suigen maku no soto* (Theatre-style outside the curtain) we find the entire work corresponds with the dramatical cycles and conventions of a day's theatre programme. Maintaining these inner tempos would seem to be Sanba's utmost concern. This end was helped along the way by signs carved in the woodblock text setting a gauge for expressing time, rhythm and mood.

Before we begin to read any book, certain messages are sent to us by the physical form in front of us, and these will inevitably determine how we read the book. Form was particularly important in the woodblock printed book, where size, format, illustration and script are closely connected with content and genre type. If method of reading has traditionally much to do with genre, then this was preserved foremost by publishers. Sanba, with fingers in both pies, helped to dictate both continuation and change.

Chapter 5 turned to the practicalities of reading. Although listeners of a Sanba-style transcriptional-type text-reading didn't need a view of the book, the appreciator of the whole performance embodied in the script could only be the single reader. Nevertheless, the listeners' level of enjoyment of it depended greatly on the enthusiasm (not specialist

knowledge) of the reader. The reading of a memoria-type text, on the other hand, hinged greatly on the reader's knowledge and ability to improvise.

We have seen how in a memorial culture you can "perform" an actor print by recollecting or creating a story from its connotations. You can perform a written text, both memoria and transcriptional type by following the cues provided, be they of contrasting kind. The simple Gestalt-type model of the *kusazôshi* is also performable in the form of a play scene; *ji* (narrative) interspersed with *kotoba* (speech), and illustrated figures can be translated into performance with the appropriate *kowairo* (voice mimicry) and miming techniques. Accordingly, in Sanba's *kibyôshi* pictures merely aid the performative aspects of the written text. Full appreciation of the complex pictorial/textual interaction as in Kyôden's *kibyôshi*, however, requires silent, or, at least non-performative, reading skills (which were held by readers of serious texts). If performing was the popular method of reading known to the reading public, it is near impossible to perform the dialectic between the pictorial and verbal text epitomized by late Tenmei-early Kansei (1787-95) *kibyôshi*. Kyôden and the other satirists were almost futuristic in their notion of reading habits.

Particularly performance-friendly, and lending itself to colourful re-enactment was the vendetta with the creation of the *gôkan* genre. As made clear to us in his disparaging preface to *Kataki uchi uchimata kôyaku* of 1805, Sanba despised the vendetta from the start despite its performability. Sanba personally preferred comedy; it was the content rather than the style that Sanba took objection to. The specific performance, rather than the nominal play, then inspired the so-called Kabuki *gôkan* of after 1808, and gave it its performable elements. However, Sanba increasingly found that illustration complicated matters when in combination with written text, and universally we see him trying to separate, or eradicate completely, the pictorial element in this genre also. The *chûbongata yomihon* was the answer to this, yet those of Sanba rear more towards the *kokkeibon* than the semi-serious genre of *yomihon*.

It is easy to forget that *kusazôshi* and *kokkeibon* were written contemporaneously and by the same authors. Sanba was primarily master of the writing brush, rather than the drawing variety. Yet he wanted complete control of the comedy and performability of his publications. In other words, in a *kokkeibon* he crams all he can into the calligraphy to the same effect as an illustrated *kusazôshi*. For this reason Sanba chooses specific identifiable character-types who support characteristic calligraphic expression in their speech. Sanba thus attempts to translate *kusazôshi* into *kokkeibon*, which would logically include introducing

*kusazôshi* reading methods to *kokkeibon* – however the images never quite break free of their letters.

Sanba compensates for lack of illustration by a writing system which seems to contain sound-waves. He manages to make these inter-genre shifts because performability remains his prerequisite. The key also lies in the nature of the narrative sections which are included in the overall rhythm of the work and are meant to be read aloud: in *kusazôshi* it is action, while in *kokkeibon*, predominantly physical description. This helps to specify the performance type too: *kusazôshi* can be acted out (to some extent) corporeally, *kokkeibon* is for focussing on an oral rendition. This, I believe, is what traditionally defines a *kusazôshi* as opposed to a (*kokkeibon*) *yomihon*. Sanba attempts to break down genre boundaries in the way described above in order to maximize performability of his favourite type – that of speech.

Kyôden's promotion of the new genre-name of *kibyôshi* (opposed to the existing *aohon*) signalled an attempt to revolutionize reading methods of *kusazôshi*. Conversely, it was this foreign “gesaku” implanted into the indigenous “sôshi” tradition which suddenly made the existing genre artificially inaccessible to the wider audience. The general reader's response to the popularization of *gesaku* in mainstream light literature was to apply the reading methods of genres that came before. As Noma wrote, potential readers would become familiar with *ukiyôzoshi* of 17th century by hearing them first through *kôshaku*. This indeed was the art of selling them.<sup>2</sup> It was within these continuing requirements that Sanba spotted a niche. Although claiming to be the archetypal “gesakusha”, he in fact helped to maintain old practices. Their endurance shaped late Edo *gesaku* fiction writing, resulting in Sanba's woodblock experiments. Thanks to this, reading aloud in character, studies show, was the popular family-based reading method which appears to have continued well into the Meiji period.<sup>3</sup>

Scholarly discussion of active performance in relation to *gesaku* fiction broke off during mid-Showa after Yamaguchi and Mitamura. We found above, in one of his early articles, Noma Kôshin - otherwise a renowned literary-centred scholar – in 1958 stated “obvious” facts regarding *kôshaku* performance and *ukiyôzôshi* which are not widely considered in later scholarship. Similarly, in exploring “Elements for re-enactment” in the

---

2. Noma 1958, 67.

3. Maeda 1989, 127-8.

last chapter we saw that Yuda Yoshio in *Bunraku Jôruri shû* of *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* of 1965 began to explain the use of punctuation signs as breath-marks, whereas his counterparts in the later *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei* (1980s) do not particularly focus on them.

Regarding the decline of *kibyôshi* from later Kansei, Kern declares *kibyôshi* had been a victim of its own success in that too many people wanted to become part of the “in-group” and share in its appreciation of poignant satire.<sup>4</sup> Indeed it was a definite success for the literati circle; from the point of view of the general reader, however, it was precisely this “successful” dialectic between pictorial and verbal text that rendered *kibyôshi* increasingly difficult to perform. “General reader”, although including townsmen and women, refers to all recreational readers rather than to any fast class-standing: it is a samurai who sits engrossed in a *kibyôshi* on the step of Nishinomiya’s shop depicted in *Shikitei Sanba unubore kagami* of 1801. Readership widened even further in 19th century – keeping its performative methods - encouraged by the amalgamation of fiction and actor likenesses. After Sanba, quantity rather than quality became the issue as regards copy-script, as attention to expression turned to focus on the *nigao-e*. Thus Sanba’s transcriptional devices remained as he left them.

Kyôden and the satirists’ leadership of the *gesaku* movement in Japan does not mean Sanba was detached from *gesaku*’s Chinese roots. Sanba’s interest in Ming Li Yu, an original *gesakusha*, may have been spurred on by mention in Hachimonjiya *gekisho*, and by Bakin’s more recent reference in *Yakusha meisho zue* (Actors: guide to famous places) of 1800 attempting to give Japanese Kabuki theatre a more learned, exotic feel. However it now appears a possibility that some Chinese volumes entered the Yorozya business’ possession during Sanba’s headship. Regarding *Ryûô ikkagen shû* and *Kanjô guki*, although the block copyright is stated as belonging to Nange Shujin for the translation of the *wakokubon*, no mention is made of the owner of the original *tôhon*.

Li Yu’s collection of essays, *Kanjô guki* (Casual expressions of idle pursuits) enjoyed a multi-appearance in various ways during the short Kyôwa period (1801-3), and we find Sanba’s looming presence detectable within them.

**1801:** (1) The playwrights’ treatise, *Kezairoku*, echoing Li Yu’s theory from *Kanjô guki* of woof and weft in play plot structure, is drawn up.

---

4. Kern 1997, 143.

(2) Sanba's *Yakusha sangai kyô* (published by himself under the name of Yorozuya Tajiemon) includes a frontispiece with an excerpt from *Kanjô guki*.

(3) Horinoya publishes the only Japanese version (of part) of *Kanjô guki*.

**1803:** (4) Sanshō's *kibyôshi*, *Kahô wa ne monogatari* includes an illustration of Sanba's studio with Sanba sitting in front of a bookcase labelled, "Ryûô ikkagen" (Collected works of Li Yu) – anthology containing *Kanjô guki*.

Sanba's association with the work of Li Yu in a publishing capacity was identified in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, by Sanba's choice to write amusing *kokkeibon* rather than *hanashibon*, we found he was no orator: Li Yu also, through his writing, "was the exponent of witty, cogent, unorthodox opinion rather than a raconteur".<sup>5</sup> Li Yu's "plays were notorious even in his own time for the amount of speech they contained",<sup>6</sup> just as with Sanba's fiction, *kokkeibon* as well as *kusazôshi*. Yet, "Li Yu was a man of the theater as well as a playwright, and he constantly talks of plays in terms of their effect on the audience",<sup>7</sup> which we find mirrored in Sanba's *Kejô suigen maku no soto* and *Kakusha hyôbanki*, the latter describing and ranking different theatre-going types.

Throughout the thesis we have seen Sanba moulding himself after Li Yu, in more specific ways than did other *gesaku* writers, who have been identified as straightforwardly borrowing plot material.<sup>8</sup> This is seen namely in the inclusion of personal anecdotes and reference to oral situations in prefaces, the preoccupation with dialect, attempts to denote enunciation, emphasis and rhythm, and their own roles as theatre spectators coupled with their concerns for effects upon the audience. Neither were raconteurs as such. Li Yu incorporated his own radical views in character speeches in his plays *in order for them to be performed* by another. Sanba similarly makes his complaints about fraudulent scholars of Chinese in asides by characters in his *kibyôshi* and through the dialogue of *kokkeibon*. These areas of shared ground between Sanba and Li Yu all have the common denominator of performance. For Sanba being a *gesakusha* may well have been what he had gathered about Li Yu from Japanese and Chinese sources.

---

5. Hanan 1988, 41.

6. Ibid., 42.

7. Ibid., 200.

8. Oka 1997, 578.

Nakamura Yukihiro in *Gesakuron* was the first to comment on the extent of Sanba's immersion in earlier *kusazôshi* and the influence thereof (this has been identified in this thesis to be of a performative nature). My thesis has further tied Sanba with the unlikely world of *mono no hon* (serious literature). Sanba may have treated some *mono no hon* purely as business commodities; others could well have had influence upon his own work, as I have shown some to have done, but their impact has not yet been fully explored.

Bakin wrote in *Kinsei no ehon Edo sakusha burui* of 1834, that, "Particularly in his prefaces he [Sanba] was able to manipulate citations from the classics and could easily be thought a scholar of Chinese".<sup>9</sup> Given Sanba's situation at a serious-book publisher's and the nature of the business he possibly secured for another publishing house, he had every opportunity to become acquainted with Chinese texts. Suggestions of Chinese sources in Sanba's work should hereon be re-considered from a viewpoint other than the traditional bias of Bakin's over-hyped criticism.

A "coincidence" similar to the depiction of *Ryûô ikkagen shû* shelved in Sanba's study is an illustration by Toyokuni in *Shikitei Sanba unubore kagami* of 1801 (3 *chô*) which shows King of Heaven and King of the Underworld appeared before Sanba, and presenting him with a wish-granting genie. In this "dream" study, Sanba sits in front of a book casket labelled "Bueiden 12 *tô*". *Bueiden shûchinban* is a selection compiled from the Shin Dynasty *Shiko zensho*; during the Tenmei era copies were shipped to Japan in 20 *tô* (volume) formats, but according to a trading ship's logbook,<sup>10</sup> in 1795 a 12 *tô* version reached Japan – the format in Toyokuni's illustration. Investigation of *Bueiden*<sup>11</sup> reveals it contains *Kôko shitsugi* and *Shunshû shakurei* – which happen to be two of the *kanban* impressions marketed by Horinoya in 1803 and 1804. Although it remains unlikely Sanba possessed this work, let alone the *kanban* which would have been kept under Bakufu control, one cannot help sensing some connection. Some reason for its choice in the illustration may have given the idea of the publications, through Sanba, by Horinoya.

Future study in this area might explore further the relationship between Sanba's *gesaku* and serious literature publications from Yorozyu and Horinoya. Comparison is not confined to content, but original book design and format. Subsequent research into Sanba will necessarily require the consideration of this new element.

---

9. Kimura 1988, 49.

10. "Shôhaku sairai shomoku" in Oba 1967.

11. *Kintei Bueiden shûchinbansho* in Tokyo University Library collection.



I have tied up the ends which identify Sanba as publisher and *gesaku* writer. At the heart of this connection I found performance.

My study was limited to the rich variety found in just one writer, Shikitei Sanba, with some limited comparison with his contemporary authors. Although elements I have discussed may be found to a certain extent in other authors, due to the nature of Sanba's work, performance here was the utmost concern. Further studies might involve more thorough application of woodblock analysis together with performance theory to other writers and publishers of the period.

Although I have been reinterpreting the history of *gesaku* largely from Sanba's point of view, and other writers have not appeared to excel in expressive script to the same degree, that does not mean their work is not performance-orientated. Similarly non-literary based analysis could be carried out and new criteria found.

By focussing on Sanba in this way, I hope that, in extension, *gesaku* fiction of the late Edo period should prove more accessible to modern readers through identifying its highly performative nature.

## Appendix I

### Chronological chart of Sanba's works with Yorozuya and Horinoya's publications

Key to genres: ■ Mono no hon (serious literature), ◆ Wakokubon, ◎ Yomihon, dangibon, ○ Hanashibon, ▽ Haikai, △ Kyôka, ☆ Gekisho, □ Sôshi rui (Ukiyozôshi; kibyôshi, gôkan [gesaku]), ◇ Sharehon, kokkeibon [gesaku])

[A comprehensive search of extant catalogues, contemporary and of the Edo period, was carried out for the purpose of compiling this chart. All entries have been confirmed by reference, wherever possible, to original copies found primarily in the Diet Library, Kyushu University, Nakano Mitsutoshi collection, or to microfilm material housed at the National Institute of Japanese Literature. Fuller details of the surveys can be found in my MA thesis.<sup>1</sup> My findings for Horinoya's publications have recently been confirmed by Kanai in an identical list,<sup>2</sup> bar one addition of Sôsho hôyô, marked here with an asterisk\*]. NB Underlining indicates authorship and/or publishing of the same work.

<u>Sanba's works to 1816</u> [ <i>sôshi</i> largely published by Nishinomiya Shinroku, Izumiya Ichibei etc.]	<u>Yorozuya Tajiemon's</u> <u>publications [also Yorozuya</u> <u>Tasuke, Nishinomiya</u> <u>Tasuke]</u>	<u>Horinoya Nihei's</u> <u>publications</u> <u>[generation I and II:</u> <u>Kansei 12 swop-over?</u>
Hôreki 4 (1754)	■ Keisan hatsumeï	▽ Haikai warawanomato
Hôreki 5 (1755)		□ Eiga asobi nidai otoko
Hôreki 11 (1761)		▽ Haikai tatsu no koe
Early Meiwa (1764~)		▽ Warawa no mato III
During Meiwa (1764~71)		☆ Chaban sangai zue
Anei 3 (1774)		○ Cha no komochi
Anei 4 (1775)		○ Ichi no mori
		▽ Aiai bakama
Anei 5 (1776)		○ Tori no machi
		○ Takawarai
Anei 8 (1779)		○ Kanasaifu
Anei 9 (1780)		○ Hatsu nobori
Tenmei 1 (1781)	■ Gakukai ikkô	○ Hatsu gatsuo
Tenmei 2 (1782)		◇ Sekai no maku nashi
Tenmei 4 (1784)		◇ Taga sode nikki
Kansei 4 (1792)	◎ Kogarashi zôshi ◎ Fûryû shidôken den	
Kansei 5 (1793)		◇ Hirôgami
Kansei 6 (1794)		
□ Tentô ukiyo no dezukai	■ <u>Manyôshû kachô</u>	■ <u>Manyôshû kachô</u>
□ Ningen issnin nozokikarakuri	■ Dokusho kaii	
Kansei 7 (1795)		
□ Go taiheiki shiraishi banashi	■ Chûkei myakusen	
Kansei 8 (1796)	■ Tôzan shôgi fu	

1. Kyushu University, 2001.
2. Kanai 2004, 6-9.

<b>Kansei 9 (1797)</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Tadatanomedaihinochienowa <input type="checkbox"/> ShibaZenkôyumenomudagaki <input type="checkbox"/> Tôjin no negoto	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Shûgai kasen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kokin waka shû jo
<b>Kansei 10 (1798)</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Migakujôharikokoronokagami <input type="checkbox"/> Sono ato maku babaa dôjôji <input type="checkbox"/> Azuma gaidô onnakatakiuchi <input type="checkbox"/> Haratsuzumihesonoshitakata <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Tatsumi fugen		
<b>Kansei 11 (1799)</b> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kyaku monogatari <input type="checkbox"/> Kyan taiheiki mukôhachimaki <input type="checkbox"/> Hikikaeshi tatoe no maku aki <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yakusha gakuya tsû	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ei fujisan hyakushu waka <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kasane no iroai <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kokuzan sensei shibunshû	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Shinzoku kibun <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hôsei ryû yôhon (Rihachi)
<b>Kansei 12 (1800)</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Keirin manroku</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Shôsho keihan <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yôi taizen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Keirin manroku</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kasshi junkan no zu <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rantei jo <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bokuzei môsetsu
<b>Kyôwa 1 (1801)</b> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yakusha sangai kyô <input type="checkbox"/> ShikiteiSanbaunuborekagami <input type="checkbox"/> Nippon icchi ahô no kagami	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Yakusha sangai kyô</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Zentô shiwa <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kanjô guki
<b>Kyôwa 2 (1802)</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Pintojô kokorono aikagi <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Sentô shinwa <input type="checkbox"/> Wata onjaku kikô no hikifuda <input type="checkbox"/> Kusazôshi kojitsuke nendaiki		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Heigi kidan <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yakusha sanjû ni sô <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Shuchû shikeihyôkai <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Saimeiki dôyô kô <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Gunsho ichiran <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Sôsho hôyô*
<b>Kyôwa 3 (1803)</b> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Shibai kinmô zui</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Kyôka kei</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Mashin kigen</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Shibai kinmô zui</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Kyôka kei</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Mashin kigen</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kôko shitsugi <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Seisai shiwa <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Haiyû <u>kei</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Tôon <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Shunshô sadenhochû <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Tsûzoku tôshikai <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Onekiron ruihen <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nensai miya suzume <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Saihō hayatebiki
<b>Bunka 1 (1804)</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Nadai no aburaya <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Kyôgen kigyo</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Kôtô ryakuzu</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kyôka tsubana shû <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kyôka musashi buri <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Kyôgen kigyo</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Kôtô ryakuzu</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> Shôdô fukuju <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Shunshô shakurei <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kohôgan sanpô <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Renju shikaku <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kiyose shinshukô <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ryôen kôshin gazô <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Shiki shiori
<b>Bunka 2 (1805)</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Oya no katakiuchi mata kôyaku <input type="checkbox"/> Naburu moyomi tôtajizukushi	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Shimi no sumika monogatari	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nagasaki kôeki kikô <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kokon hien <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Jikaisetsuyôcitaigura
<b>Bunka 3 (1806)</b> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Kyôka kei II</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ononobakamura usojizukushi <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kejôsuigen makunosoto <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itako bushi <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Azuma buri <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Akogi monogatari <input type="checkbox"/> Katakiuchi adatara yama <input type="checkbox"/> Ikazuchi Tarô gôaku	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>Kyôka kei II</u> (Yorozuya Tajiemon and Tasuke) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kyôka zoku musashiburi (Yorozuya Tajiemon and Tasuke) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nanboku shû (Yorozuya Tasuke)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Morokoshi meisho zue <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kamo ô kashû

monogatari ◇ Namaei katagi		
<b>Bunka 4 (1807)</b> □ Hakone reigen izari no adauchi □ Katakuchi yome odoshi dani	△ Kyôka sumire shû (YorozuyaTajiemon) △ Kyôka hôrai shû (Taji) △ Kyôka musashiburi IV (Nishinomiya Tasuke)	
<b>Bunka 5 (1808)</b> □ Domono Matahei Meigano suke dachi, □ (9), ◇ (1)		
<b>Bunka 6 (1809)</b> □ (8), ◇ (1), ◇ Ukiyoburo		
<b>Bunka 7 (1810)</b> □ (11), ◇ (4), ■ (1)  ◇ Hayagawari mune no karakuri	△ Kyôka fukusôshû (Taji) ■ Gokeikikan (Tajiemon) ■ Suginoshitsu (Taji) ◇ Hayagawari mune no karakuri (Nishinomiya Tasuke)	
<b>Bunka 11 (1814)</b>	■ Sei jokô (Tajiemon)	■ Tôken wakumon
<b>Bunka 12 (1815)</b>	■ Sumire sô (Tajiemon)	
<b>Bunka 13 (1816)</b> △ Haikaika kei	△ Haikaika kei (Tajiemon)	

## Appendix II

### Survey of changes to Yorozya's copyright catalogue, "Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku"

"Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku" 1 (Dated 11th month, Kansei 11 [1799],  
incorporated into colophon of *Eifuji hyakushu waka*, Diet Library collection).

- Manyôshû kachô
- Kasane no iroai
- Kana shûyô
- Kaen kodai ruishô

Details such as author, book format and a précis of content are also provided. All  
works at this time are *waka*-related. (For "Key to genres" see Appendix I).

"Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku" 2 (Recarved and undated, double folded sheet  
appended to *Eifuji hyakushu waka*, Kyushu University collection). Additionally includes:

- ◆ Yôï taizen
- Shôkanron senchû
- Keikaku hatsumei
- Dokusho kaii
- Keichû hôshi fuji hyakushu

- Tōkō sensei shohōzu, ■ -showa, ■ -kaisho senjimon, ■ -gyōsho senjimon, ■ -sōsho senjimon, ■ -kokin wakashū jo, ■ -tensetsu, ■ -reishetsu
- Shūgai sanjūrokkasen
- Tō shōgi fu
- Shōchū shoseki mokuroku
- Kuntē senjimon
- △ Kyōka tōzaishū
- △ Kyōka zoku tōzaishū
- Keirin manroku
- Nagao kokin waka shū jo
- Shōgi shūchin shudan
- ◆ Keihan
- Yoshino michi no ki
- Ono no tōfū akihagi jō
- ◎ Kokon shōsetsu konohana sōshi
- ◎ Kikai hyaku banashi sekibaku yawa (Sanba)
- Zokugo benran (Sanba)

This catalogue is designed to fit *ōhon* (large-size) and *hanshibon* (slightly smaller, half-paper-size) formats, and can be found appended in books of either size. We see an increase in China-related works, including two *wakokubon* (Japanese editions of Chinese works). The latest known publication among this list is Shinratei Manzō's *Keirin manroku* of 6th month, Kansei 12 (1800); also Yorozyū requests guild permission (*wariin*) for transcription of the *wakokubon*, *Keihan*, in 12th month of the same year. Thus, this copyright catalogue must date from around this time. One book found to contain the catalogue is *Kyōka tsubana shū* (Diet Library), for which we know Yorozyū sought permission for publication in Bunka 1 (1804). So, the catalogue remains intact at least until this year.

*Kyōka tōzaishū* (which appears in the catalogue), along with *Yakusha gakuya tsū*, forms a *kyōka* exchange between Sanba and Sandara Hōshi, and was originally published by Nishinomiya in 1799. Soon after, the blocks appear to have entered Yorozyū's possession. This would mark the first of Sanba's influence on the Yorozyū publishing business: not only is it Yorozyū's first non-serious literature publication, it is also one whose content Sanba had a hand in. In addition, it would seem at this time that Sanba intended to write a *yomihon*, "Sekibaku yawa", and a dictionary, "Zokugo benran" (though neither in fact appeared). Here we see a different image to the one of the *gesaku* writer which was publicly known. The potential dictionary suggests that Sanba had an interest in language from very early on.

The catalogue caters for various interests such as two texts on shōgi (chess), but most striking is the entrance into the copyright catalogue of as many as 12 calligraphy copy-books, 8 items of which are from the famous Sawada Tōkō's calligraphy series for learning different styles of script. [Figure 35A, p. 235]

**“Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” 3** (appended to *Eifuji hyakushu waka*, Waseda University collection).

The catalogue has lost its border patterning. The following changes by wood insertion and recarving (*horinaoshi/umeki*) have been made to the blocks used in “Mokuroku” 2:

■Keirin manroku has been replaced by ■Kikei kikan, ■Heigi kidan.

◎Kokon shôsetsu konohana sôshi / ◎Kikai hyaku banashi sekibaku yawa / ■Zokugo benran have been replaced by △Kyôka kei I, △ -II, △ -III (kinkoku, “out soon”), △Kyôka sumire shû, △-shinsô shû.

*Heigi kidan* was originally published by Horinoya in Kyôwa 2 (1802), signifying another Horinoya/Yorozuya exchange thereafter. *Kyôka kei* Part I appeared early in Bunka 3 (1806), though Sanba admits that the publication was later than scheduled. This catalogue could well date from sometime between these years. No doubt Sanba did not find the time to produce the demanding items (*yomihon* and dictionary) he had promised.

**[Figure 35B]**

In particular, a large number of Sawada Tôkô’s calligraphy practice-books have been found bearing “Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” 2 and 3, suggesting their popularity while Sanba was head of the Yorozyu business. They are printed in reverse: Tôkô’s model calligraphy is printed in white on black background so that the student could attempt to trace over the script accurately. Volumes feature in *kaisho* (square script), *gyôsho* (semi-cursive script), *sôsho* (cursive script), *tensho* (seal writing) and *reisho* (grass [Chinese] script).

A survey of multiple copies and the *horinaoshi/umeki* changes carried out upon colophons therein would indicate that the calligraphy series was initially published by members of the Kichimonjiya group during Meiwa and Anei eras (1764-1788). The publishing rights then seem to move on to Maekawa Rokuzaemon for a while. “Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” 2’s estimated compilation date of 1800 indicates the Tôkô blocks had fallen into Yorozyu’s hands by this time.

Chapter 2 shows that Sanba most likely took over the Yorozyu business in this year. The acquisition of the blocks could well have been at his instigation. In Chapters 3 and 4 we see sensitivity to various styles of script on Sanba’s part in his *kokkeibon*.

**“Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” 4** (appended to *Tôkô sensei sôsho senjimon\**, Nakano Mitsutoshi collection).

\*The book label says “sôsho” (cursive script), but the content of the book is “gyôsho” (semi-cursive).

Only the first half page of this catalogue remains, but as the border pattern has been removed from the woodblock, we can deduce it is an impression made after the content changes in “Mokuroku” 3. It is also badly worn, suggesting a relatively late printing. Interestingly, the address has been altered from Yamashita-chô to Yokkaichi Kidogiwa. This signifies that Sanba himself, on leaving the Yorozya Tajiemon establishment following the death of his wife, took the block rights with him to Yokkaichi, where he styled himself Yorozya Tasuke from 1st-3rd months of 1806 (the place was however destroyed in the 3rd month fire).

**“Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” 5** (appended to *Tôkô sensei sho senjimon*, Nakano Mitsutoshi collection).

■Kôtô ryakuzu, ■Taishô kana hô, ■Bongo sen, ■Kikei kikan, ■Tôzan shôgi fu, ■Tôkô Sawada sensei okibon rui: -kaisho senmon, ■-gyôsho senmon, ■-sôsho senmon, ■-showa, ■-shohôzu, ■-tensetsu, ■-reisetsu, △Haikaika kei, △Kyôka kei.

A newly-carved edition of the larger-size catalogue with Yorozya Tajiemon’s address as Denma-chô. In *Haikaika kei* of Bunka 13 (1816), Yorozya (under Sanba’s successor) is still located in Yamashita-chô. In 4th month, 1817, Yorozya at the new address is recorded on duty at Edo map share dealings (*Kyôho igo Edo shuppan shomoku*), so this catalogue must date from after 1816. Interestingly, the blocks for the Tôkô calligraphy books etc. returned, then, to the main publishing house after their use by Sanba in Yokkaichi; they evidently did not burn away there in the 3rd month, 1806 fire.

**“Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” 6** (appended to *Kyôka kei*, Kyushu University Tomita *bunko* collection).

Of different blocks, it is in *chûbon* (middle-size) rather than the *hanshibon/ôhon* format of the above catalogue in order to fit smaller-size *kyôka* collections such as *Kyôka kei*. It lists the same titles as “Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” 2, but also includes:

△Kyôka tsubana shû, △Kyôka musashiburi, and ☆Shibai kinmô zui.

The red seal on the colophon of this copy of *Kyôka kei* suggests it is a first (1803) printing, and this catalogue having been expressly designed to fit into copies of *Kyôka kei*, it too must be from this date. Here we find *mono no hon* (“serious” literature), *kyôka* and *gekisho* lined up next to one another in the same catalogue. This attempted change in status of *kyôka* and *gekisho* is thus indicated through the Yorozya copyright catalogue during the height of Sanba’s influence upon the business.

Not only this: “Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku” in all its versions has also proved to be important material in determining the influence on Sanba through managing a publishing house of “serious literature”.



東都書肆蘭香堂藏版目錄		萬屋太治右衛門	
山門外山下町			
傷寒論選註		傷寒津氏微	
經絡發明		讀書會意	
芳集佳調		集外世六備仙	
唐象棋譜		掌中書籍目錄	
訓點千字文		狂歌東西集	
歌苑古題類抄		假字拾要	
かき紙のいろあはれ		桂林漫錄	
東江先生書法圖		東江先生書話	
同 指書千字文		同 行書千字文	
同 草書千字文		同 古今和歌集序	
同 篆說		同 隸說	
長雄先生集序		將基袖珍手殿	
洪範		吉野道の記	
小野子風秋秋帖		小野子風秋秋帖	
俗語便覽			

A. "Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku". Appended to *Eifuji hyakushuwaka*, Kyushu Univ. Library.

東都書肆蘭香堂藏版目錄		萬屋太治右衛門	
傷醫大全		頌世庵著 全部六十四卷	
傷寒論選註		道齊津田先生著 全三冊	
傷寒津氏微		道齊津田先生著 全三冊	
經絡發明		東嶽先生著 全三冊	
讀書會意		太室先生撰 全三冊	
芳集佳調		芳集先生撰 全三冊	
集外世六備仙		後水見院御撰 全一冊	
唐象棋譜		唐象棋先生撰 全一冊	
掌中書籍目錄		掌中書籍先生撰 全一冊	
訓點千字文		著山先生撰 全一冊	
狂歌東西集		三池雅修撰 全一冊	
歌苑古題類抄		全十冊 近刊	
假字拾要		假字先生撰 全一冊	
桂林漫錄		桂林漫錄先生撰 全一冊	
平義畧談		伊勢先生撰 全一冊	
東江先生書法圖		全一冊	
東江先生書話		全三冊	
同 指書千字文		全二冊	
同 行書千字文		全二冊	
同 草書千字文		全二冊	
同 古今和歌集序		全一冊	
同 篆說		全一冊	
同 隸說		全一冊	
長雄先生集序		百嶽先生著 全一冊	
將基袖珍手殿		將基先生撰 全一冊	
洪範		洪範先生撰 全一冊	
吉野道の記		吉野先生撰 全一冊	
小野子風秋秋帖		小野先生撰 全一冊	
狂歌集		前編	
同 後編		同 後編	
同 三編		同 三編	
同 四編		同 四編	
同 五編		同 五編	
同 六編		同 六編	
同 七編		同 七編	
同 八編		同 八編	
同 九編		同 九編	
同 十編		同 十編	

B. "Rankôdô zôhan mokuroku". Appended to *Eifuji hyakushuwaka*, Waseda Univ. Library.

Figure 35.



### Appendix III : Performance representation in translation

“Kudoi jôgo” (The Tedious Drunk) from *Namaei katagi* (Portraits of drinkers),  
a *kokkeibon* by Sanba of 1806

#### Commentary

The abundant numerals which characterize this text are written in exhaustively different ways. They are also written with strong strokes, and softer ones; and in *kaisho* (square lettering), *gyôsho* (semi-cursive), *sôsho* (cursive) and *kana*, alternative Kanji, and in different combinations thereof.

Here I have picked up on just the recurring 50’s and 20’s and attempted to render them in English letter fonts to echo the variation present in the woodblock. I have chosen fonts which seem appropriate/conjure up a comparable image. The diversity in the series of 50’s and 20’s is but one of the woodblock messages active in this text. However, for purposes of clarity the object of meta-translation has been confined to these. Even with just the example of 50’s and 20’s highlighted here, if these had been translated into normal uniform font it would indeed be a “tedious” read, decidedly more tedious than the varied, intriguing woodblock version. I have translated directly from the woodblock version, namely Hôsa Bunko copy, without reference to any modern type edition in order to pick up afresh all idiosyncrasies of the original script. *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû*<sup>3</sup> was subsequently consulted for its annotation. My translation is followed by a chart explaining the choice of translation methods regarding the woodblock.

#### Translation

[Illustration page: 19 *chô u*]

Tedious drunk

As drunkenness sets in, his head sinks further forward; with rolling eyes, he dribbles down his chin. Saying, ‘You’ve heard what I’m telling you?’, he repeats the same thing over, and is the type to bore those around him.

[Main text: 20 *chô o*]

Tedious drunk - Way of reading: should be read as if can’t get tongue round words. Heed should be taken over *kana* usage.

Hey, Mrs – I listen. We only get fifty years, got it? “A sealed book, t’the future<sup>4</sup> is in the dark of night when sound the cries of crows who have not sung” – got it? Oh no, I’m drunk... (*he says, while clapping his hands he chants,*) ♪ So be it

3. Nakano 1971, 218-220.

4. Pivot word for proverb and poem.

when longs my stomach for saké I have not drunk<sup>5</sup>... mountain cherry. Well, I'd make a poet no doubt. They could enter it into the 100 Classical Poems. Hey, M'Mrs! L'listen. We only g'get FIFTY years. Have you got that? Those f'f'five years, no f'f'five-ty years. You understand what I'm saying, don't you? Do you? Say so if you do.

[20 *chô u*]

Got it? No, but that's at the bottom of the matter. Well, if there's a bottom, there's a lid too. During those "L" years, about T'TWENTY years are enjoyable. Don't you think, M'Mrs? Well now, if you're wondering why, then see for yourself. Well, if you add that to it – and this – I added this, but as I added that too, there's this and that. Right. This will give you a fright. Well, I'll explain it to you. Can I have silence please! Well, the f'f'first twenty years,

[21 *chô o*] they are of no use at all to anyone, that's what I say. The last 10 years – they're not very entertaining, either. You ask why? Well, from 21 to 30 there's 10 years. G'got that? And from 31 to 40, that makes "XX" years. What do you think? I herewith announce that we have fifty years and twenty of them are enjoyable. My, 'tis such a terrible tale.<sup>6</sup> And that relates to why I take to drink. Just today I've been done for as much as one bottle at 250 pennies with 364 pennies-worth of side-dishes. Now listen to me well. We get 50 years –

\* [21 *chô u*] 20 are enjoyable. Can't carry on without drinking. Even if I drink (*humming*) it's harmless. If I hadn't forced myself to drink I wouldn't have made it this far. You see. M'Mrs, hey Mrs. Listen to me. We get 50 years. We enjoy 20. Yeah, even if I drink it's harmless. If I hadn't forced myself to drink, I wouldn't have made it this far.<sup>7</sup> We get fifteen years. We enjoy TWENTY. Oi, you, Mrs.

\* [22 *chô o*] Hey, don't you be getting angry with me. Saké's sweeter than you. Hey – better than food is an empty cup of saké just drunk. *Hiccup*. We get fifty years and TWENTY are enjoyable. "Even if you drink don't stay with the old woman from Sasadera".<sup>8</sup> *Hiccup*. Just 50 years. If you don't drink, the happenings of FIFTY years will be of greatest harm to your health. So that's why I d'd'drink. I drink and I drink. Well, today I've already had 364 pennies-worth of side-dishes,

5. Parody on previous poem.

6. Uses formal speech as if telling an old fairy story from *otogizôshi*.

7. Words said about the drunkard-feigning Yuranosuke in 7th Act of *Kanadehon chushingura*.

8. Legend of Myôin, Asakusa, of woman who killed travellers.

[22 *chô u*] and a 250-penny bottle at another public house. Even though I drink it doesn't have any effect on me. If I hadn't made myself drink I wouldn't have made it this far. We have just FIFTY years to enjoy. Just FIFTY years. (*A ditty*) ♪ Ohh, FIFTY years when I don't stay up drinking... Oi, oi, old wife – don't sit there so serious. Oh, we get fifty years. *Twenty* we enjoy. Oi, oi, Mrs. Look this way (*singing*) ♪ Hear what I say?....

\* Woodblock original in **Figure 36A**, p. 239.

#### Key to translation of woodblock

	Characters (fifty)	Style	Translation
1	五十年	Semi-cursive I	fifty
2	五十年	Square	FIFTY
3	五十年 (ごどうねん) <sup>9</sup>	Semi-cursive I	five-ty
4	五拾年 (ごじゅうねん) <sup>10</sup>	Semi-cursive I	"L"
5	五十年	Cursive I	fifty
6	五十年	Cursive II	50
7*	五十年	Cursive II	50
8*	五十ねん <sup>11</sup>	Kana usage	fiftee
9*	五十年	Semi-cursive II	fifty
10*	五十年	Semi-cursive I	50
11*	五十年	Square	FIFTY
12	五十年	Square	FIFTY
13	五十年	Square	FIFTY
14	五十年	Square	FIFTY
15	五十年	Cursive I	fifty

	Characters (twenty)	Style	Translation
A	二十年	Square	TWENTY
B	二十年	Semi-cursive I	twenty
C	廿年 <sup>12</sup>	Square	"XX"
D	二十年	Cursive	twenty
E*	廿年	Cursive	20
F*	廿年	Semi-cursive I	20
G*	廿年	Semi-cursive II	TWENTY
H*	二十年	Square	TWENTY
I	二十年	Semi-cursive II	twenty

Fonts: Bradley Hand, GOTHIC COPPERPLATE, ENGRAVERS, Curlz, MATISSE

\* Feature in woodblock in **Figure 36A**.

9. Woodblock version glosses the characters here with "godônen", although *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû* has transcribed this gloss as "gojûnen" (Nakano 1971, 219). Sanba has told us to pay attention to *kana* at the beginning of the monologue. "Godônen" is an unconventional reading and credits a misspelling/mispronunciation in translation.

10. Unnecessary "alternative" Kanji translated with similarly pedantic way of writing "fifty".

11. Simplistic, but laboured and space-taking way of writing "fifty", mirrored in translation.

12. Choice of translation here made purely on look of majestic compactness.

A

Figure 36 A. Namaei katagi. 1806. Hôsa Bunko. 21-22chô.

Figure 36 A. Namaei katagi. 1806. Hôsa Bunko. 21-22chô.

Figure 36 A. Namaei katagi. 1806. Hôsa Bunko. 21-22chô.

B

Figure 36 B. End of preface.

Figure 36 B. End of preface.

## Appendix IV : Primary source references

### Edo period (by author name)

\* Sanba inscription

Chikamatsu Monzaemon. *Aizome gawa* 藍染川. [Osaka Nakanoshima Library: 251-1032]\*

-----, *Aigo no wakamiyako no fuji* 愛子若都富士山. [Nakanoshima: 251-1034].\*

-----, *Yodogoi shusse no taki nobori* 淀鯉出世滝徳. [Nakanoshima: 251-98].\*

Deirôshi. *Seki fujinden* 足石婦人伝. [Cambridge University Library: FJ.765.2].\*

Kanwatei Onitake. *Kyûkan chô* 旧観帖. Bunka 2 (1805) Murataya Jirobei [Hôsa Bunko, Nagoya: 尾 13-21].

-----, *Kyûkan chô*. Bunka 6 (1809) edition. Osaka: Okajima Shinshichi [Tokyo Metropolitan Library: 913/WK/5].

Keichû Hôshi. *Eifujisan hyakushu waka* 詠富士山百首和歌. Kansei 11 (1799) Yorozuya Tajiemon. Yorozuya Tajiemon backstock catalogue on colophon. [Diet Library: 140-32].

-----, *Eifujisan hyakushu waka*. Later impression: appends Yorozuya Tajiemon backstock catalogue. [Kyushu University, Kuchinashi Bunko: 911 二-8].

-----, *Eifujisan hyakushu waka*. Still later impression: appends Yorozuya Tajiemon backstock catalogue. [Waseda University Library: へ 2 4244].

Kimura Mokurô ed. *Shikanjô* 芝翫帖. Ansei 1 (1854) preface. [Chiba City Museum of Art].

Ki no Kaion. *Shinpan Hyôgo no tsukishima* 新板兵庫の築嶋. [Nakanoshima: 251-410].\*

Ri Gyo. *Ryûô ikkagen zenshû* 笠翁一家言集. 1671. Published in China [Kyushu University Faculty of Literature Library: 支文 33, 25].

-----, *Kanjô guki* 閑情寓寄. Kyôwa 1 (1801) Horinoya Nihei. [Kyushu University Faculty of Literature Library: 750 リ 1].

Sawada Tôkô. *Tôkô sensei sôsho senjimon* 東江先生草書千字文. Appends Yorozuya Tajiemon (Yokkaichi) backstock catalogue. [Nakano Mitsutoshi Collection].

Sharakuken. *Kôshoku ise monogatari* 好色伊勢物語. 1686. [British Library: or75g3].\*

*Shibai miyô no shikata* 戲場観法規則. Bunka 12 (1815). [Diet Library: 231-21].

Shikitei Sanba. *Kejô suigen maku no soto* 戲場粹言幕乃外. Bunka 3 (1806): Kazusaya Sasuke. [Diet Library: 208.30].

-----, *Kôtô ryakuzu* 皇統略図. Bunka 1 (1804): Yorozuya Tajiemon. [Nakano Mitsutoshi Collection].

-----, *Kyôgen kigyo* 狂言綺語. Bunka 1 (1804) [Tokyo University Kokubun Kenkyûshitsu: 近世 36,11,10; Hôsa Bunko, Nagoya: 尾 13-80; Diet Library: 京 98].

-----, *Kyôkakei* 狂歌鱗 I and II. Kyôwa 3; Bunka 3 (1803; 1806). [Kyushu University, Tomita Bunko: 26V, 18-434].

-----, *Namaei katagi* 酩酊氣質. Bunka 3 (1806) Kazusaya Sasuke. [Ueda Municipal Library, Hanatsuki Bunko: 花 42-159].

-----, *Namaei katagi*. Later impression. [Hôsa Bunko, Nagoya: 尾 13-82].

-----, *Shibai kimmô zui* 戲場訓蒙図彙. Kyôwa 3 (1803) Yorozuya Tajiemon, Nishinomiya Shinroku et al. [Geidai University, Tokyo: W774 Sh 34].

-----, *Shibai kimmô zui*. Bunka 3 (1806) impression, Kazusaya Chûsuke. [Kyushu University Faculty of Literature Library: 国文 28L 14].

-----, and Santô Kyôden et al. *Shunsôhiji* 春窓秘辞. c. Bunka (1804-16) manuscript [Nakano Mitsutoshi collection].

-----, *Suichû shirinsen* 酔中知無箋. Double sheet publication. Kansei 10 (1798). *Nishizawa Ippô harikomi chô*. [Waseda Theatre Museum].

-----, *Yakusha nigao ryakugashiki* 役者似顔略画式. One sheet publication. c. Bunka 12 (1815). [Tokyo University Library: A00 Katei 1065].

-----, *Yakusha sangai kyô* 俳優三階興. Kansei 13 (1801) Yorozuya Tajiemon, Nishinomiya Shinroku. [Cambridge University Library: FJ.758.3].

Utagaki Magao ed., *Kyôka musashi buri* 狂歌武射志風流. Bunka 1 (1804) Yorozuya Tajiemon. [Diet Library: 109-110].

-----, *Kyôka musashi buri*. Later impression, Yorozuya Tajiemon, Yorozuya Tasuke. [Tokyo Metropolitan Library: 442-32].

-----, *Kyôka zoku musashi buri* 狂歌続武射志風流 Bunka 3 (1806) Yorozuya Tajiemon, Yorozuya Tasuke. [Tenri University Library: 917.2, 203].

Yô Taikai. *Kôko shitsugi* 考古質疑. Kyôwa 3 (1803) impression: Horinoya Nihei. [Kariya City Central Library, Aichi: 3.281].

### Meiji period onwards (in chronological order)

Kanagaki Robun. *Aguranabe* 安愚楽鍋 (5 vols., Japanese binding/woodblock). Tokyo: Seinodô, Meiji 4-5 (1871-2) [National Institute of Japanese Literature, Tokyo: ㄥ 4:86].

-----, *Fuyu kodachi yami no fukurô* 冬児立闇 = (1 vol., Japanese binding/woodblock). Tokyo: Seiseidô, Meiji 13 (1880) [NIJL: ㄥ 4:18].

*Kyôku Sanjin*.  
Tamenaga Shunsui. *Musume Setsuyô* 娘節用 (3 vols., Japanese binding/type). Tokyo: Kakuseisha, Meiji 15 (1882) [NIJL: リ 6:223].

Kanagaki Robun. *Na ni tachibana nochi no Kikusui* 名橘後菊水 (2 vols., Japanese binding/type). Tokyo: Seikôdô, Meiji 16 (1883) [NIJL: ハ 4:174].

Hattori Seiichi. *Shunsô kiwa* 春窓綺話 (2 vols., Western binding). Tokyo: Sakaue Hanshichi, Meiji 17 (1884) [NIJL: ヒ 4:790].

Tsubouchi Shôyô. *Shôsetsu Shinzui* 小説神髓 (9 vols., Japanese binding/ type). Tokyo: Shôgetsudô, Meiji 18 (1885) [Japan Foundation Library, Tokyo].

Shikitei Sanba. *Ukiyoburo* 浮世風呂 (1 vol., Western binding). Tokyo: Bunjidô, 1885 [Tenri University Library].

Tsubouchi Shôyô. *Tôsei shosei katagi* 当世書生氣質 (1 vol., Western binding). Tokyo: Kingyoku Shuppansha, Meiji 19 (1886) [NIJL: ヒ 4:923].

-----, *Imo to se kagami* 妹と背かがみ (2 vols., Japanese binding/type). Tokyo: Kingyoku Shuppansha, 1886 [NIJL: ヒ 4:598].

Futabatei Shimei. *Shinpen Ukigumo* 新編浮雲 (2 vols., Western binding). Tokyo: Kinkôdô, Meiji 20 (1887) [NIJL: ヒ 4:816-7].

#### Early modern anthologies

*Kôtei Sanba kessaku shû* 校訂三馬傑作集. *Teikoku bunko* 13. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, Meiji 26 (1893).

*Kibyôshi hyakushû* 黄表紙百集. *Zokuteikokubunko* 34. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, Meiji 34 (1901).

*Kôtei Kyôden Sanba kessaku shû* 校訂京伝三馬傑作集. *Zoku teikoku bunko* 40. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, Meiji 35 (1902).

*Odoke banashi Ukiyoburo, Ryûhatsu shimwa Ukiyodoko, Tôkaidôchû hizakurige* = 話浮世風呂・柳髮新話浮世床・東海道中膝栗毛. *Kokumin bunko*. Tokyo: Kokumin Bunko Kankôkai, Meiji 42 (1909).

*Kibyôshi jissshu* 黄表紙十種. *Yûhôte bunko* 106. Tokyo: Yûhôte Shoten, Taishô 7 (1918).

*Kokkeibon shû* 滑稽本集. *Nihon meicho zenshû, Edo bungei no bu*, 14. Tokyo: Nihon Meicho Zenshû, Shôwa 2 (1927).

*Kibyôshi shû* 黄表紙集. *Kindai nihon bungaku taikai* 12. Tokyo: Kokumin Tosho Kabushikikai, 1927.

*Shikitei Sanba shû* 式亭三馬集. *Kindai nihon bungaku taikai* 17. Tokyo: Kokumin Tosho Kabushikikai, 1927.

*Ukiyoburo* 浮世風呂. *Iwanami bunko* 340-1. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, Shôwa 3 (1928).

*Kokkeibon meisaku shû* 滑稽本名作集. *Edo bungaku sôsho* 10. Tokyo: Kôdansha, Shôwa 11 (1936).

## Bibliography

- Akama Ryô 赤間亮 et al. *Kabuki bunka no shosô* 歌舞伎文化の諸相. *Iwanami kôza: kabuki, bunraku* 4. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1997.
- , *Zusetsu Edo no engekisho – kabuki hen* 図説江戸の演劇書—歌舞伎篇. Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2003.
- Araki, James T. "Sharebon: books for men of mode." *Monumenta Nipponica* 24.1 (1969): 29-45.
- Ariga, Chieko. "The playful gloss: *rubi* in Japanese literature." *Monumenta Nipponica* 44.3 (1989): 309-335.
- Asakura Haruhiko 朝倉治彦 ed. *Kyôhō igo Edo shuppan shomoku* 享保以後江戸出版書目. Tokyo: Rinsen Shoten, 1993.
- , ed. *Edo jidai zusetsu hyakka: Kinmôzui no sekai* 江戸時代図説百科—訓蒙図彙. Tokyo: Ozorasha, 2002.
- Asakura Musei 朝倉無聲 ed. *Gesaku rokkasen* 戯作六家撰. *Enseki jussu* 1. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1877.
- , ed. *Shikitei zakki* 式亭雑記. *Zoku enseki jussu* 1. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1909.
- , *Shinshû nihon shôsetsu nenpyô* 新修日本小説年表. Tokyo: Shun'yôdô, 1926.
- Asano Shûgô 浅野秀剛 ed. *Hizô ukiyoe taikan* 秘蔵浮世絵大観3. *Daiei hakubutsukan* III. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1988.
- Barber, Karin. "Text and performance in Africa." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 66:3 (2003): 324-333.
- Barthes, Roland. *Image Music Text*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.
- , *Empire of signs*. Trans. Richard Howard. London: Cape, 1982.
- Bohn, Willard. *The Dada market: an anthology of poetry*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993.
- Brandon, James. *Kabuki: five classic plays*. Cambridge, Mass: University of Harvard Press, 1975.
- , ed. *Chushingura: studies in Kabuki and the puppet theatre*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982.



-----, and Samuel L. Leiter eds. *Kabuki plays on stage*. Vols. 1-3. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002.

Campbell, Robert. "Introduction"; "Kisoku to dokusha". <Tokushû> *Meiji jûnendai no Edo. Edo bungaku* 21 (1999.12): 1-8; 112-134.

-----, "Bjinzû shi to sono shûhen o megutte" 美人図史とその周辺をめぐって. *Tôdai Komaba renzoku kôgi: Yomu koto no chikara*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 2004.

Carruthers, Mary. *The book of memory: a study of memory in Medieval culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990

Clark, Timothy. "Ready for a close-up: actor 'likenesses' in Edo and Osaka". Gerstle, C. Andrew. *Kabuki heroes on the Osaka stage 1780-1830*. London: British Museum Press, 2005.

Cross, Barbara. "Ukiyodoko no eiyaku" 『浮世床』の英訳. *Edo Bungaku* 19 (1998):111-115.

-----, "'Sui kantan eiga no utsutsu' kaidai" 『粹邯鄲 栄花の現』 解題. Kyushu Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan Yomihon Collection Database [electronic resource] (1999): 1-3. Available from <http://herakles.lib.kyushu-u.ac.jp/yomi/4048-51/f404800.htm>

-----, "Representing performance in Japanese fiction: Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822)" *SOAS Literary review AHRB centre special issue* [electronic journal] (Autumn 2004): 1-20. Available from <http://www.soas.ac.uk/soaslit/>

Derrida, Jacques. "Signature event context." *Glyph* 1 (1977): 172-197.

Donath-Wiegand, Margarete. *Zur literarhistorischen Stellung des Ukiyoburos von Shikitei Samba*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963.

Dunn, Charles and Bunzô Torigoe eds. *The actors' analects*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.

Eagleton, Terry. *Literary theory: an introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1983.

Ebara Taizô 頼原退蔵. "Sanba no geijutsu, Sanba zakki, Sanba no kôkoku bungaku" 三馬の芸術・三馬雑記・三馬の広告文学. *Ebara Taizô chojutsu shû* 17. Chûô kôronsha, 1980.

Eco, Umberto. *The role of the reader: explorations in the semiotics of texts*. London: Hutchinson and Co., 1979.

-----, and Costantino Marmo eds. *On the medieval theory of signs*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 1989.

-----, "Cognitive types and nuclear content". *Kant and the platypus: essays on language and cognition*. London: Vintage, 1997.

Finnegan, Ruth. *Oral traditions and the verbal arts, a guide to research practices*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Forrer, Matthi. *Eirakuya Tôshirô, publisher at Nagoya: a contribution to the history of publishing in 19th century Japan*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1985.

Fox, Charles E. "Old stories, new mode. Ejima Kiseki's *Ukiyo oyaji katagi*". *Monumenta Nipponica* 43:1 (1988): 63-77.

Fukui Tamotsu 福井保. *Edo bakufu kankôbutsu* 江戸幕府刊行物. Tokyo: Yûshôdô, 1985.

Futabatei Shimei 二葉亭四迷. "Yo ga genbun icchi no yurai" 余が原文一致の由来. *Seiji shôsetsu: Tsubouchi Shôyô, Futabatei Shimei shû. Gendai Nihon bungaku taikai* 1. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1971.

Geinôshi kenkyûkai 芸能史研究会 ed. *Kabuki* 歌舞伎. *Nihon shomin bunka shiryô shûsei* Vol. 6. Tokyo: San'ichi shobô, 1973.

Gerstle, C. Andrew. *Circles of Fantasy: Convention in the Plays of Chikamatsu*. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1986.

-----, Inobe Kiyoshi and William P. Malm. *Theater as Music: The Bunraku Play, "Mt. Imo and Mt. Se: An Exemplary Tale of Womanly Virtue."* Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan Press, 1990.

-----, "Performance literature: the traditional Japanese theatre as model." *Comparative Criticism* 22 (2000): 39-62.

-----, *Chikamatsu: five late plays*. New York: University of Columbia Press, 2001.

-----, "The culture of play: Kabuki and the production of texts." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 66:3 (2003): 358-379.

-----, *Kabuki heroes on the Osaka stage 1780-1830*. London: British Museum Press, 2005.

Gunji Masakatsu 郡司正勝 ed. *Kezairoku* 戯財録. Nishiyama Matsunosuke et al ed. *Kinsei geidôron. Nihon shisô taikai* 61. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972.

-----, *Kabuki*. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985.

Hakubunkan 博文館 ed., *Zoku katagi zenshû* 続気質全集. *Teikoku bunko* 40. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1896.

Hamada Keisuke 浜田啓介. "Kokkeibon toshite no gekisho" 滑稽本としての劇書. *Kinsei shôsetsu, eii to gishiki ni kansuru shiken*. Kyoto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai, 1993.

Hanan, Patrick. *The invention of Li Yu*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Hattori Yukio 服部幸雄. *Shibai kinmô zui* 戲場訓蒙図彙. *Kabuki no bunken* 3. Tokyo: Kokuritsu Gekijô Chôsa Yôseibu Geinô Chôsashitsu, 1969.

-----, "Shikitei Sanba no shibai banzuke shûshû" 式亭三馬の芝居番付蒐集. *Nihon kosho tsûshin* 49.2 (1984.2): 4.

Hawkes, Terence. *Structuralism and semiotics*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Hayakawa Junsaburô 早川純三郎 ed. *Kyokutei ikô* 曲亭遺稿. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1911.

Hayashi, Nozomu and Kornicki, Peter. *Early Japanese books in Cambridge University Library*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

----- 林望. "'Yomu' 'kiku' soshite 'jikan'" 「読む」「聴く」そして「時間」.  
Campbell, Robert ed. *Tôdai Komaba renzoku kôgi: Yomu koto no chikara*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 2004.

Hillier, Jack. "The Later Kabuki stage in Edo;" "The Later Kabuki stage in Osaka." *The Art of the Japanese book*. London: Sotheby's, 1988.

Hino Tatsuo 日野龍夫. *Godai Ichikawa Danjûrô shû* 五世市川団十郎集. Tokyo: Yumani Shobô, 1975.

Hirose Chisako 広瀬千紗子. "Hana no Edo Kabuki nendaiki no seiritsu" 『花江都歌舞伎年代記』の成立. *Kinsei bungei* 41 (1984.11): 40-60.

-----, "Godaimé Ichikawa Danjûrô no bannen ni tsuite" 五代目市川団十郎の晩年について. *Kotoba to koto no ha* 5. Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1988.

-----, *Bakin no Yakusha meissho zue o yomu* 馬琴の戲子名所図会をよむ. *Sonoda gakuen joshi daigaku Chikamatsu kenkyûjo sôsho*. Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2001.

-----, "Yakusha meissho zue hankô no koro." 戲子名所図会版行のころ. *Chikamatsu kenkyûjo kiyô* (2002.3): 1-8.

Honda Yasuo 本田康雄. *Shikitei Sanbano bungei* 式亭三馬の文芸. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1973.

-----, "Edo bungei ondoku no susume" 江戸文芸音読の勧め. *Sôsho Edo bunko* 19 (*Kokkeibon shû* 1) *Geppô* 16 (1990): 1-4.

Iezzi, Julie Ann. *The Art of kabuki speech: rules and rhythms*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hawaii, 2000.

- Ihara Toshirô伊原敏郎. *Kabuki nenpyô*歌舞伎年表. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1956-1963.
- Inoue Kazuo井上和雄. *Keichôirai shokashûran*慶長以来書 = 集覧. Tokyo: Genronsha, 1978.
- Inoue Keiji井上啓治. “Shikitei Sanba no bungaku taido” 式亭三馬の文学態度. *Waseda daigaku kokubun gakkai kokubungaku kenkyû* 82 (1984): 68-77. [a]
- , “Shikitei Sanba to hakuwa shôsetsu” 式亭三馬と白話小説. *Kinsei bungei* 41 (1984): 27-39. [b]
- , “Zoku: Shikitei Sanba to hakuwa shôsetsu” 続・式亭三馬と白話小説. *Kokubungaku kenkyû* 91 (1987): 47-59.
- , “Shikitei Sanba to ‘Tohen shinsho’ sairon” 式亭三馬と『杜騙新書』再論. Wakan hikaku bungakkai ed. *Edo shôsetsu to kanbungaku*. Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin: 1993.
- Inoue Muneo井上宗雄 et al ed. *Nihon kotenseki shoshigaku jiten* 日本古典籍書誌学辞典. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999.
- Inoue Takaaki井上隆明. (*Kaitei zôho*) *Kinsei shorin hanmoto sôran* 改訂増補 近世書林版元総覧. *Nihon shoshigaku taikei* 76. Musashi Murayama: Seishôdô, 1998.
- Iwasaki, Haruko. *The World of ‘gesaku’: playful writers of late eighteenth century Japan*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1984.
- Jinbo Kazuya 神保五弥ed. *Shohanbon odokebanashi Ukiyoburo* 初版本 = 話浮世風呂. Tokyo: Shintensha, 1978.
- , “Hachimonjiyabon to Shikitei Sanba” 八文字屋本と式亭三馬. *Zuihitsu hyakkaen: furoku* 13 (1983): 1-4.
- , ed. *Ukiyoburo, Kejô suigen maku no soto, Taizen sekai gakuya saguri* 浮世風呂・戯場粹言幕の外・大千世界楽屋探. *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei* 86. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989.
- Kanai Keitarô 金井圭太郎. “*Horinoya shôkô*” 堀野屋小考. *Shaseki bunkashis* (2004) = 2-9.
- Katô Atsuko 加藤敦子. “Anei ki no Edo gekidan: tonda uwasa no haikai” 安永期の江戸劇壇—飛んだ噂の背景—. *Yeungnam daigaku jinbun kenkyû* 39 (2000.9): 13-24.
- Kawai Masumi河合真澄. *Kinsei bungaku no kôryû: shôsetsu to engeki* 近世文学の交流—小説と演劇—. Osaka: Seibundô, 2000.
- , “E-iri nehon ‘Yakusha hama no masago’ o megutte” 絵入根本『俳優浜真砂』をめぐって. [*Osaka*] *Joshidai bungaku: kokubunhen* 54 (2003.3): 12-24.

Kazama Seishi 風間誠史ed. *Tada Nanrei shû* 多田南嶺集. *Sôsho Edo bunko* 42. Kokusho Kankôkai, 1997.

Keene, Donald. *Four major plays of Chikamatsu*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Kern, Adam Lewis. *Blowing smoke: tobacco pouches, literary squibs, and authorial puffery in the pictorial comic fiction (kibyoshi) of Santo Kyoden (1761-1816)*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1997.

Kimura Miyogo 木村三四吾ed. *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* 近世物之本江戸作者部類. Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 1988.

Kobayashi Fumiko 小林ふみ子. "Edo ni okeru tentori kyôka no hattatsu"  
江戸における点取り狂歌の発達. *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 79.10 (2002.10): 30-43.

Koike Masatane 小池正胤 et al eds. *Edo no gesaku ehon* 江戸の戯作絵本 I-IV. *Gendai kyôyô bunko* 1037-1040. Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1980-1983.

Kokusho kankôkai 国書刊行会ed. *Iwademo no ki* 伊波伝毛乃記. *Shin enseki jussu* 4. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1913.

*Kokusho sômokuroku* 国書総目録. 8 Vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976-82.

Kornicki, Peter. "Nishiki no ura: an instance of censorship and the structure of a sharebon." *Monumenta Nipponica* 32-2 (1977): 153-88.

-----, *The reform of fiction in Meiji Japan*. *Oxford Oriental Monographs* 3. London: Ithaca Press, 1982.

-----, *The Book in Japan, a cultural history from the beginnings to the nineteenth century*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

-----, "Literacy revisited: some reflections on Richard Rubinger's findings." *Monumenta Nipponica* 56-3 (2001): 381-395.

-----, "Unsuitable books for women? Genji monogatari and Ise monogatari in late seventeenth-century Japan." *Monumenta Nipponica* 60.2 (2005): 147-193.

Leutner, Robert. *Shikitei Sanba and the comic tradition in Edo fiction*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Maeda Ai 前田愛. *Kindai dokusha no seiritsu* 近代読者の成立. *Maeda Ai chojutsu shû* 2. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1989 (Tokyo: Yûseidô, 1973).

-----, "Kindai bungaku to katsujiteki sekai" 近代文学と活字の世界. *Maeda Ai chojutsu shû* 2. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1989.

Malm, William P. "A musical analysis of 'The mountains scene' "; "Appendix B: Musical comments on 'The mountains scene' ". Gerstle, C. Andrew, Inobe Kiyoshi and William P. Malm. *Theater as Music: The Bunraku Play, "Mt. Imo and Mt. Se: An Exemplary Tale of Womanly Virtue."* Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan Press, 1990.

Markus, Andrew. "Carnival of Edo: misemono spectacles from contemporary accounts". *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45.2 (1985.12): 499-541.

-----, *The Willow in autumn, Ryutei Tanehiko, 1783-1842*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.

-----, "Shogakai: celebrity banquets of the late Edo period". *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 55 (1993): 135-167.

Matsudaira Susumu 松平進. "Kimura Mokurô to 'Shikan jô' seiritsu no haikai" 木村黙老と『芝翫帖』成立の背景. Kobayashi Tadashi ed. *Nikuhitsu ukiyoe taikan 10: Chiba-shi bijutsukan*. Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1995.

Matsuo Yasuaki 松尾靖秋. *Genkô yôshi no chishiki to tsukaikata* 原稿用紙の知識と使い方. Tokyo: Nanundô, 1981.

May, Ekkehard. *Die Kommerzialisierung der japanischen Literatur in der späten Edo-Zeit (1750-1868)*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1983.

-----, Martina Schönbein and Claudia Waltermann eds. *Das "Ehon Muro no Yashima" (1808): Edition und Analyse eines Kamigata-yomihon*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003.

-----, "Books and book illustration in early modern Japan." Formanek, Susanne and Sepp Linhart eds. *Written texts-visual texts: woodblock printed media in early modern Japan*. Amsterdam: Hotei publishing, 2005.

Mertz, John Pierre. *Novel Japan: spaces of nationhood in early Meiji narrative, 1870-88*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2003.

Miller, J. Scott. "The hybrid narrative of Kyoden's sharebon." *Monumenta Nipponica* 42-2 (1988): 133-152.

Mitamura Engyo 三田村鳶魚. "Kokkeibon gaisetsu" 滑稽本概説. *Kokkeibon meisaku shû. Edo bungaku sôsho* 10. Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1936.

Miyao Yoshio 宮尾與男. "Kôki hanashibon no tenkai: Edo ni okeru zekkôbungei no seiritsu" 後期漸本の展開—江戸における舌耕文芸の成立. *Kokugotokokubungaku* 82(1985): 42-50.

Mizuno Minoru 水野稔 ed. *Kibyôshi shû* 黄表紙集1. *Koten bunko* 264. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 1969.

-----, ed. *Santô Kyôden zenshû* 山東京伝全集. Vols. 2, 3. Tokyo: Perikansha, 1993, 2001.

Morioka, Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko. *Rakugo: the popular narrative art of Japan*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Mutô Junko 武藤純子. "Shoki ukiyoe ni miru 'kiku' shibai jôhō"  
初期浮世絵にみる「聴く」芝居情報. *Ukiyoe geijutsu* 139 (2001): 3-21.

Nagatomo Chiyoji 長友千代治. *Kinsei kamigata jôruribon shuppan no kenkyû* 近世上方浄瑠璃本出版の研究. Tokyo: Tokyodô Shuppan, 1999.

-----, *Edo jidai no shomotsu to dokusho* 江戸時代の書物と読書 Tokyo: Tokyôdô Shuppan, 2001.

Nagasawa Kikuya 長沢規矩. *Wakokubon kanseki bunrui mokuroku* 和刻本漢籍分類目録. Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin, 1976.

Nakamura Michio 中村道生 ed. *Ukiyoburo* 浮世風呂. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 63. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957.

Nakamura Yukihiro 中村幸彦. "Kinsei shôsetsu shi" 近世小説史. *Nakamura Yukihiro chojutsu shû* 4. Tokyo: Chuô Kôronsha, 1987.

-----, *Gesakuron* 戯作論. *Nakamura Yukihiro chojutsu shû* 8. Tokyo: Chuô Kôronsha, 1982 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1966).

Nakano Mitsutoshi 中野三敏 et al eds. *Sharehon, kokkeibon, ninjôbon*  
洒落本・滑稽本・人情本. *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû* 47. Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 1971.

-----, ed. *Edo hôkaku wake* 江戸方角分. Tokyo: Kinsei Fûzoku Kenkyûkai, 1977.

-----, *Gesaku kenkyû* 戯作研究. Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha, 1981.

-----, *Edo no hanpon* 江戸の板本. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995.

-----, et al. "Edo no shuppan (ge) zadankai: hanmoto, hôsei, gijutsu, ryûtsû, kyôju"  
江戸の出版（下）座談会、板元・法制・技術・流通・享受. *Edo bungaku* 16 (1996): 3-25.

-----, *Jûhasseiki no Edo bungei* 十八世紀の江戸文芸. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999.

-----, *Kinsei shin kijin den* 近世新馬奇人伝. *Iwanami gendai bunko* G134. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2004 (*Edo series* 7. Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1977).

*Nihon koten bungaku daijiten* 日本古典文学大辞典. 1-6 Vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983-5.

Nobuhiro Shinji 延広真治. "Hanashi no kai: Utei Enba o chûshin ni shite"  
咄の会—烏亭焉馬を中心にして. *Kokugo kokubugaku* (1966.10): 148-165.

-----, "Kôshaku, rakugo to bungaku" 講釈・落語と文学. *Nihon no bungaku no sôten* 4 (1969): 286-309.

-----, "Utei Enba nenpu (5)" 烏亭焉馬年譜 (五). *Tokyo daigaku kyôyôgakubu jinbunkagakuka kiyô* 71 (1980): 53-82.

-----, *Rakugo wa ikani shite keisei sareta ka* 落語はいかにして形成されたか. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986.

-----, and Nagashima Hiroaki 長島弘明. "Kinsei shôsetsu – janru ishiki o koete"  
近世小説—ジャンル意識を超えて. *Kokubungaku* 50.6 (2005.6): 6-23.

Nojima Jutarô 野島寿太郎 ed. *Shintei zôho Kabuki jinmei jiten* 新訂増補歌舞伎人名辞典. Tokyo: Nichigai Associates, Kinokuniya Shoten, 2002.

Noma Kôshin 野間光辰. "Ukiyozôshi no dokushosô". 浮世草子の読書層. *Bungaku* 26.5 (1958): 63-73.

Oba Osamu 大庭脩. *Edo ni okeru tôsen mochiwatari sho no kenkyû* 江戸における唐船持渡書の研究. Osaka: Kansai Daigaku Tôzai Gakujutsu Kenkyûjo Kenkyûsôkan, 1967.

Oka Haruo 岡晴夫. "Ri Ryûô to Nihon no gesakusha" 李笠翁と日本の戯作者. *Keiô daigaku geibun gakkai: Geibun kenkyû* 73 (1997): 574-586.

Ong, Walter. *Orality and literacy, the technologizing of the word*. London and New York: Methuen, 1982.

Osundare, Niyi. *Songs of the marketplace*. Ibadan, Nigeria: New Horn Press, 1983.

Ôyama Kôjun 大山公淳. *Bukkyô ongaku to shômyô* 仏教音楽と声明. Osaka: Tôhō Shuppan, 1989.

Parker, Helen. *Plot repetition in traditional Japanese theatre, with specific reference to the Yoshitsune Shitsujidai theme*. Unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 1993.

Raz, Jacob. "The Audience evaluated: Shikitei Samba's Kyakusha Hyobanki." *Monumenta Nipponica* 35 (1980): 199-221

-----, *Audience and Actors, a study of their interaction in the Japanese traditional theatre*. Leiden: Brill, 1983.



Rimer, J. Thomas and Yamazaki Masakazu trans. *On the art of Nô drama: the major treatises of Zeami*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.  
Sakai Naoki. *Voices of the past: the status of language in eighteenth-century Japanese discourse*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1991.  
Sakamoto Muneko 坂本宗子. *Hanmoto betsu shoseki mokuroku* 版元別書籍目録. Osaka: Seibundô, 1982.

Saltzman-Li, Katherine. *Kabuki playwriting: process, traditions and conventions*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1994.

Satô Satoru 佐藤悟. "Ryûtei Tanehiko shokan shû" 柳亭種彦書簡集. Hasegawa Tsutomu ed. *Kinsei bungaku fukan*. Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin, 1997.

-----, "Kusazôshi gairyaku: kusazôshi mokuroku sakusei no shisô"  
草双紙概略—草双紙目録作成の思想. *Tokyo daigaku kusazôshi mokuroku* 5 (2001): 20-47.

Satô Yukiko 佐藤至子. "Yomimono toshite no gôkan: Sanba gôkan no buntai"  
読み物としての合巻—三馬合巻の文体. *Kinsei bungei* 68 (1998.9): 63-75.

-----, *Edo no eiri shôsetsu: gôkan no sekai* 江戸の絵入小説—合巻の世界. Tokyo: Perikansha, 2001.

Screech, Timon. *The lens within the heart: the Western scientific gaze and popular imagery in later Edo Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

-----, *The shogun's painted culture*. London: Reaktion Books, 2000.

Sharehon taisei henshû iinkai ed. *Sharehon taisei* 洒落本大成. 30 vols. Tokyo: Chûô kôronsha, 1978-88.

Shirane, Haruo. *Traces of dreams: landscape, cultural memory, and the poetry of Bashô*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

-----, ed. *Early modern Japanese literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Shomotsu tenbô kankôkai 書物展望編集会. "Shuppan dokoro no imamukashi"  
出版処の今昔. *Shomotsu tenbô* 2:1 (1932).

Sonoda Yutaka 園田豊. "'Aohon' no ao no iroiro" 「あを本」の青の色々. *Gobun kenkyû* 86/87 (1999.6): 54-63.

Sô no kai. "Kibyôshi no honkoku to kenkyû" 黄表紙の翻刻と研究. *Sô* 20 (1998): 210-233.

Suga Chikuho 菅竹浦 ed. *Kyôka shomoku shûsei* 狂歌書目集成. Kyoto: Hoshino Shoten, 1936.

Suyama Akinobu 須山章信. “E-iri nehon mokuroku (miteikô)” 絵入根本目録 (未定稿) .  
*Asugawara* 16 (1978): 46-53.

Suzuki Jûzô 鈴木重三. “Gôkan ni tsuite” 合巻について. *Daitôkyû kinen bunko: Bunka kôza shirîzu* 9 (1961): 1-36.

-----, *Ehon to ukiyo-e* 絵本と浮世絵. Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1979.

Suzuki Toshiyuki 鈴木俊幸 *Tsutaya Jûsaburô* 蔦屋重三郎. Tokyo: Wakakusa Shobô, 1998.

-----, “Edo no ‘shoshigaku’: kôji no sekai” 江戸の「書誌学」—好事の世界. *Tekusuto towa nanika. Iwanami kôza bungaku* 1. Iwanami Shoten, 2003. [a]

-----, “Kusazôshi no kôikiteki ryûtsû o megutte” 草双紙の広域的流通をめぐって.  
*Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō < Tokushû > Edo no miryoku* (2003.12): 94-100. [b]

Takagi Gen 高木元. *Edo yomihon no kenkyû* 江戸読本の研究. Tokyo: Perikansha, 1995.

Takagi Kôji 高木好次. *Sharebon taikai* 洒落本大系. 12 vols. Tokyo: Rokugôkan, 1930-32.

Takahashi Noriko 高橋則子. “Tsuisen kusazôshi *Edo no hana satsuki no chirigiwa to Ichikawa ke no gei*” 追善草双紙『東発名臯月落際』と市川家の芸. Hattori Yukio ed., *Kanseiki no zengo ni okeru Edo bunka no kenkyû*. Chiba: Chiba Daigaku Daigakuin Shakai Bunka Kagaku Kenkyûka Kenkyû Purojekuto Hôkokusho, 2000.

-----, *Kusazôshi to engeki* 草双紙と演劇. Tokyo: Kyûko Shoten, 2004.

Tanahashi Masahiro 棚橋正博. *Kibyôshi sôran* 黄表紙総覧. 4 Vols. *Nihon shoshigaku taikai* 48. Musashi Murayama: Seishôdô, 1989.

-----, ed. *Shikitei Sanba shû* 式亭三馬集. *Sôsho Edo bunko* 20. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai: 1992.

-----, *Shikitei Sanba* 式亭三馬. Tokyo: Perikansha, 1994.

-----, “Shinratei nenpu kô” 振羅亭年譜稿. *Yomihon kenkyû* 10.2 (1996): 1-60.

-----, “Ukiyoburo ni tsuite” 『浮世風呂』について. *Edo bungaku* 20 (1999): 29-46.

Thomas, Rosalind. *Literacy and orality in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Thornbury, Barbara. *Sukeroku's double identity: the dramatic structure of Edo Kabuki*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan Press, 1982.

Togasaki, Fumiko T. *Santo Kyoden's 'kibyoshi': visual-verbal and contemporary-classic intercommunications*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1995.

Tsuboya Zenshirô 坪谷善四郎. *Hakubunkan gojûnen shi* 博文館五十年史. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1937.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. London: Routledge, 1981.

Yajima Genryô 矢島玄亮. *Tokugawa jidai shuppansha shuppanbutsu shûran* 徳川時代出版社出版物集覧. Sendai: Manyôdô Shoten, 1976.

Yamaguchi Takeshi 山口剛 ed. *Yomihon shû* 読本集. *Nihon meicho zenshû* 13. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1927. [a]

-----*Kokkeibon shû* 滑稽本集. *Nihonmeicho zenshû* 14. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1927. [b]

Yokoyama Kuniharu 横山邦治. *Yomihon no kenkyû* 読本の研究. Tokyo: Kazama Shobô, 1974.

Yoshimaru Katsuya. "Shikitei Sanba to kyôka – Kyôkakei o jiku ni"  
式亭三馬と狂歌—狂歌觸を軸に. *Nihon bungaku* 53.6 (2004.6): 33-41.

Young, Thomas Joshua. *A touching talk: Nineteenth-century Edo Rakugo and the performance of language*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Cornell University, 2003.

Yoshida Eiji 吉田映二 ed. *Kabuki nendaiki* 歌舞伎年代記. Tokyo: Hôbunkan, 1926.

Yûda Yoshio 祐田善雄. *Bunraku jôruri shû* 文楽浄瑠璃集. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 99. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965.